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JOHN BAPTIST DELASALLE'S THE CONDUCT OF SCHOOLS: A GUIDE TO TEACHER EDUCATION

by

Dominic E. Everett, F.S.C.

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty
of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago
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1984

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VITA

Dominic Edward Everett f.s.c. was born on 16 April 1929 in Chicago, Illinois.

He attended parochial school on the South Side of Chicago. He graduated from high school at LaSalle Institute, Glencoe, Missouri in 1946, the year he sought admission into the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

In 1947 Brother Everett entered St. Mary's College, Winona, Minnesota, where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in May 1950. He earned a Master of Arts for Teachers degree in 1955 from St. Mary's and a Master of Arts degree in philosophy in 1961 from Loyola University of Chicago.

Brother Everett has over twenty years experience in high school teaching and ten years in high school administration including three years in Belgium.

In 1983 he joined the faculty of the education department at Lewis University, Romeoville, Illinois.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation attempts to analyze The Conduct of Schools as a presentation of the subject matter, methodology, and administation of teacher education according to John Baptist DeLaSalle. It attempts to show how DeLaSalle worked throughout his professional life at the reform of primary education through teacher education. The man and his book are presented together as a worthy pedagogical guide to teacher education. The dissertation begins with a description of primary teacher education in seventeenth century France as an educational reform movement inspired by the Council of Trent. Within that context the efforts of DeLaSalle at educating teachers for country schools and for city schools are chronicled. The dissertation reconstructs The Conduct of Schools and analyzes the book as a teacher education manual in three parts: administration and supervision of teacher education, curriculum and classroom organization presented in the context of the daily school schedule, and practical methodology for creating school as a community attractive and suitable to problem children of the poor. The result of the analysis is the distillation of Lasallian principles applicable to teacher education.

The dissertation is presented within the parameters of seventeenth century primary school teaching of the poor in France. There is no description of teacher education for secondary teaching,

for tutoring and primary schooling of the affluent, or for Huguenot schooling. There is no reference to the rise in the eighteenth century of numerous congregations of brother teachers. No attempt is made to apply DeLaSalle's genius to today's practice of teacher education. The historical record of DeLaSalle's success and failure in teacher education is there for the reading. Unfortunately, the lack of coverage of the seventeenth century French primary education in history of education textbooks and the lack of translations of French educational studies have prevented American educators from knowing much about seventeenth century teacher education. The dissertation will demonstrate that The Conduct of Schools deserves to be included in the bibliography of teacher education and that DeLaSalle deserves more than mere mention in the history of teacher education.

In the dissertation the complete name, John Baptist DeLaSalle, is designated simply by the family name, DeLaSalle. The rationale justifying this usage is supported by the fact that DeLaSalle himself used only his family name as his most frequent signature. Besides, John Baptist is a name unfamiliar to most Americans. From the pulpit DeLaSalle is often mistakenly referred to as John the Baptist. American authors frequently drop the middle name, Baptist, and refer to DeLaSalle as John. Canon Blain, one of his first biographers, uses the unisex initial name form which is so popular today, J. B. DeLaSalle. There is no evidence, however, that DeLaSalle used either John or J. B. as his regular signature.[1] Unfortunately the pronunciation of DeLaSalle's family name also is a source of confusion. The

French pronunciation begins with De as in derby. The English pronunciation, however, begins with De as in delicious. Both pronunciations are acceptable. Name recognition is further complicated when the preposition De is dropped and the family name is presented as LaSalle. Such a practice accounts for the mistaken notion that DeLaSalle and LaSalle, the explorer of the Mississippi River, were relatives. One author, disregarding both the preposition De and the article La, mistakenly identifies DeLaSalle as the founder of the Salesians, a nineteenth century religious order.[2] The four different spellings for DeLaSalle's name that appear in Charles Demia's journal accounting for DeLaSalle's purchase of textbooks are orthographic idiosyncracies typical of the seventeenth century and have had no influence on the problem of name recognition. Based upon various spacings and capitalizations there are several ways of writing DeLaSalle, anyone of which can be considered correct. For example: de la Salle, de La Salle, De La Salle, Delasalle. The first three forms highlight the aristocratic ties to the family name. The last form, Delasalle, which became popular at the time of the French Revolution, has more of the common touch. DeLaSalle used, as his most frequent signature, the family name spelled with capitalization but no spacing.[3] The superiors of the Brothers of the Christian Schools have endorsed the third spelling, De La Salle. They have not, however, enforced uniformity in publications of the congregation.

DeLaSalle uses the word conduct (conduite) to denote a sense of savoir faire, a mastery and an understanding of teaching which comes

from enlightened experience. The Conduct is the product of democratic sharing among experienced teachers. It does not deal with theory imposed from above. Its pedagogical wisdom comes from collective experience in the classroom. The Conduct works! The meaning of conduct as pedagogical savoir faire is indicated by the kind of questions that DeLaSalle frequently asked about the school: Fait-il bien? ("Is it working well?"); Marche bien? ("Is it going well?") The questions appear simple, but they are the profound questions of an experienced educator. The questions query the total, successful functioning of the school. However, not all of the pedagogical savoir faire is meant for beginning teachers, and the preface warns them not to be discouraged if they have difficulty practicing what is done by experienced teachers.

In the dissertation teacher education is used to describe the process of becoming a teacher. In the history of teacher education the process has been also described as formation, training, preparation, and initiation. Each of these words is an acceptable description with its own nuance or connotation. Training, for example, has overtones of apprenticeship and has a mechanical and behavioristic ring to it. Preparation emphasizes initiation into a profession. Each word has been in and out of vogue, depending upon the current educational trend. Education seems to be the most popular in use today.[4] Formation is the least used today outside of church related schools, although it was popular in the pedagogical literature of the seventeenth century. Formation is used by DeLaSalle.

Formation has a history of association with religion as an important value in the educational process. Development in religious awareness is essential in Lasallian teacher education, and the use of education in the dissertation is not intended to minimize this significance.

CHAPTER I

TEACHER EDUCATION IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE

Introduction

John Baptist DeLaSalle did not create the education of primary school teachers ex nihilo.[1] His success came out of the accumulated educational experience of his predecessors and contemporaries in seventeenth century France.[2] This chapter describes the evolution of that experience. One purpose of the chapter is to show that the development of primary teacher education in France took place in a rich tradition of schooling and education. Another purpose is to tell the story of the persons, ideas, and events significantly involved in the education of primary school teachers in seventeenth century France. The point of departure for this narrative is the Council of Trent and the reformation of clergy and catechism.[3] The education of the primary school teacher is presented as a product of that Catholic Reformation. The presentation of seventeenth century teacher education is organized according to the educational roles of the persons who successively filled the function of primary teacher: craftsman, priest, nun, sister, seminarian, brother, layman. Lastly, brief comments on DeLaSalle's effort at teacher education provide background for future chapters.

Primary Education

Seventeenth century France believed in education.

> A child, it was thought, has much more chance of being happy and achieving his salvation as the religious and cultural patrimony is transmitted to him. For example, this child shall be saved more easily if his parents have taught him well the catechism and his prayers, and if they themselves have received this teaching from their parents. In this conception the salvation of a child depended certainly on grace but also on a chain of events. It was written in history.[4]

France of the ancien régime was smitten with education. The treatises on pedagogy published in this period are counted by the hundreds. With theology and politics, pedagogy was a favorite subject of the French. The grand career of a philosopher or essayist was not complete if it did not include a treatise on education.[5] One point of similarity between the Protestant reformation and the Catholic reformation was an enthusiasm for religious schooling.[6] However, in Luther's reform the exclusive direction of education was placed in the hands of the civil power.[7] In seventeenth century France it was still the church and not the state that was primarily responsible for education.[8] Jean Gerson, the chancellor of the University of Paris, had remarked: "If one wants to reform the church, he must begin with the children."[9] Nothing seemed more urgent to the pioneers of the Catholic reform issuing from the Council of Trent. "The Catholic reform is a vast enterprise of teaching. It is a school which never closes its doors."[10] Regretfully the French themselves have shown considerable reluctance to consider the prospect of any worthwhile educational institution existing in the seventeenth century.[11] Several French historians of education have blindly attributed the origins of

popular education and teacher education to the French Revolution,[12] whereas

> the ancien régime did make sufficient teaching available to all so that it is not able to incur the responsibility for the ignorance which existed still in 1789.[13]

There is evidence that at the beginning of the seventeenth century in France the necessity of popular teaching was generally admitted.[14] The city of Paris, divided into 147 districts, each, as a rule, with one school for boys and another for girls, had a total of 294 schools.[15] In 1672 the Statutes and Regulations of the little schools of Paris distinguished 166 school districts each having a boy's school and a girl's school.[16] The ordinance which prohibited that two primary schools be within two hundred yards of each other is a clear indication of the large number of primary schools in the city.[17] The organization of schools in seventeenth century France is outlined in the episcopal decrees.[18] The minutes of the visits of the Archbishop of Rouen relate the following results: of 38 parishes visited in 1683, 22 had schools; of 56 parishes visited in 1687, 42 had schools; of 1159 parishes visited from 1710-1717, 1116 had schools (of which 306 were for girls).[19]

> In 1790 in the district of Rouen of 102 communes for which we have information only 13 lacked schools. . . . The seventeenth century France had its own renaissance in primary teaching thanks to the zeal of the clergy and to the exhortations of the Councils.[20]

In general there was no lack of primary schools when DeLaSalle came on the educational scene. As a matter of fact, the multitude of schools was the preparation for the mission of DeLaSalle in the education of teachers.[21]

The political body, that is, the villages, the towns and the state, also had its part to play in education along with the church. The church taught, but the city gave it the means.[22] Acting in the name of the king, local governments took great care not to neglect primary schools.[23] Whether by good will or by necessity, the 526 chapters which existed in France before the Revolution, had fulfilled the obligation which had been imposed on them by the Councils to found and to maintain schools for the people.[24] Nearly every page of the register of the deliberations of a French town council under the ancien regime has to do with questions of education: a contract of the abécédaire teacher, a levy of municipal taxes, an extraordinary intervention at the collège, a roof repair of the grande école, a date for the distribution of prizes.[25]

Study of episcopal minutes, statistical research of marriage signatures, and recent demographic research affirm the existence of a strong primary level of instruction in the seventeenth century, especially in the north and east sections of France.[26] Limited to the elements of reading, writing, calculating, and the practice of religion, primary instruction provided a strong and honorable base for the poor who wished to go to school. Primary education was sufficient, it seems, to permit them to take care of their affairs without having recourse to a third party. At the end of their schooling the students were not savants, but they were prepared to become better educated men.[27] The Catholic reformation in the seventeenth century was no dead letter with regard to the instruction of the poor.

However, the weakest part of the organization of French primary education was the education of teachers.[28] "It was not always easy to find and to select an instructed teacher."[29]

> Even in the atmosphere of the extraordinary educational interest during the first three-quarters of the seventeenth century there was no solution of the problem of obtaining good teachers for the primary schools.[30]

> Without any doubt, the weakest points in the organization of the little schools were the haphazard recruiting of the teachers, and the lack of any real professional preparation. The clerics among them possessed at least some training in the letters. Their intellectual education might be considered adequate, especially in view of the limited curriculum. But even they had had no instruction in the art of teaching, in methods, in classroom procedure, etc. The lay personnel usually had enjoyed even less formal training as to content and as little in the field of methods.[31]

"By mid-seventeenth century the complaint was unanimous in deploring the lack of capacity and the lack of manners of the teachers of the urban little schools."[32] In the charity schools the problem was most acute. Apparently the bishops could legislate schools, but they could not legislate good teachers.

Before venturing into the history of the seventeenth century solutions to the problem of teacher education, let us clear up the confusion that often occurs in the literature regarding some seventeenth century school terms: secondary and primary levels, little school, class and school, gratuitous, and the poor.

There were three levels of schooling in seventeenth century France.[33] On the superior level was the university. On the secondary level was the college (collège) of which there were two kinds: those dependent upon the university and those independent of the university. The famous colleges of the Jesuits and the Oratorians were independent

of any university. DeLaSalle attended the Collège des Bons Enfants, dependent on the University of Reims and taught by secular clerics. All courses at the university and at college were taught in Latin except at the Oratorian colleges, where some courses were taught in the vernacular. On the primary level were several options for schooling: tutoring at home, available to the wealthy; grammar school, connected with some college; choir school, for a select number of boys who sang in the cathedral choir; little school, taught by masters belonging to the corporation of teachers; convent school, boarding and day, taught by nuns; writing school, taught by a guild writing master who also taught arithmetic and bookkeeping; charity school, operated by the poorhouse or by a parish.

Sometimes the literature employs generic terms to organize seventeenth century French schooling: grandes écoles and petites écoles (little schools).[34] In the generic sense grandes écoles included universities and colleges; little schools included primary schools. However, in seventeenth century France little school also had a precise meaning: the primary school where children in modest circumstances paid a modest fee to teachers who taught under the jurisdiction of the superintendent of schools (écolâtre).[35] Little School also was the name of the primary and secondary level classes taught by the solitary Jansenists at Port Royal. In general when Little School refers to a Port Royal school, both words are capitalized.

"It is important to understand that in seventeenth century France the primary and secondary schools were not what they are in twentieth century France."[36] The modern French system in which schools are operated on a longitudinal dual scheme is quite different from the seventeenth century system.[37] Primary in seventeenth century France referred to schooling which had as its purpose to teach in French the elements of learning to children up to the age of nine. Those who were to receive further education at the age of ten entered a college in which teaching was done in Latin. In practice, there was much age overlapping. For example, DeLaSalle continued the primary education into advanced studies for poor boys beyond the age of nine.

Little schools were paying schools, although the law read that the poor, who could not pay, had to be accepted.[38] Universities were paying schools. Colleges and all schools taught by religious orders were tuition free.[39] Charity schools were tuition free for the indigent. Teacher salaries and other major costs were covered by church or municipal levy or by generous foundations of the wealthy.[40] Ecclesiastics were a major source of charity school foundations.[41] When the tax or foundation was not sufficient to cover the expense, a nominal monthly tuition (droit d'écolage), proportioned to the number and kind of courses taken, was collected. "Except in a period of crisis, the school of the ancien regime is not a financial burden, even for the most deprived."[42]

There were, however, hidden costs of going to school which were prohibitive to the poor: boarding accommodations; the expensive examination fees (droit d'examen) of the universities; necessary school materials, such as candles, paper, pens, and a uniform.[43] The desire not to be dressed poorly in comparison to one's school companions exerted a financial pressure. The major financial obstacle which kept the poor from attending school was the lack of income to the family that the non-working child represented. Fifteen or sixteen years was too long a time for a poor child to study and to remain completely supported by his family. Besides the real costs and the lack of income, another real barrier to school attendance was the lack of any relationship of the studies to the daily concerns of working people.[44]

Sometimes school referred to a separate building; other times it referred to the room(s) rented in the building. Rooms rented in separate buildings or in various parts of the same building were spoken of as constituting several schools. As late as 1774 in the diocese of Reims, nearly all the neighborhoods had a primary school, but less than one in ten had a school building.[45] Schools had a variety of housing: a barn, a separate school building, a section of the hospice, a rented room(s), a rectory room, the teacher's room.[46] In France of the ancien regime most frequently it was the teacher who welcomed the students into his house.[47] Class referred to the group of students studying the same lessons. Several classes were often in the same room. In the eighteenth century, by the extension of simultaneous teaching, the word class took on the meaning of classroom wherein the students formed a homogeneous group.[48]

Seventeenth century France distinguished between the poor and the destitute.[49] According to present-day standards a poor person is anyone who is unable to afford the minimum comforts available to those in the lowest wage category. In the seventeenth century such comforts were lacking generally to all but the wealthy. The poor were characterized, not by lack of comfort, but by lack of security. The poor had no steady income and no capital to help them weather an economic crisis. They were poor but their poverty might be only temporary. The destitute, however, belonged to another social category. Their insecurity was continuous and accepted as a way of life. The slightest illness could result in loss of job and hence, destitution: lack of food, lack of heat in winter. At the mercy of the seasons, the destitute suffered inevitable and persistent unemployment and semi-starvation. A charity school was to accept only the children of the real poor, that is, the destitute listed on the parish dole.[50] It seems fair to conclude that the normal and proper clientele of the charity schools, the really poor, were people whom we today would consider paupers or welfare cases.

> It was the old Christian idea of gratuitous instruction, but interpreted by men living in an epoch of marked social inequality. In the Middle Ages one and the same school served all children, rich and poor alike, without requiring or accepting anything from anybody. In the seventeenth century the poor were segregated; to them instruction was imparted as an alms.[51]

The Craftsman Teacher

The craftsmen teachers were of three kinds: the writing masters, who had their own closely knit guild; the unionized teachers

of the little schools, who were under the supervision of the superintendent of schools; and the part-time teachers of the rural primary schools, who were craftsmen but in trades or occupations other than teaching.

The writing masters were a small number of skilled calligraphers and teachers of writing, calculating, and bookkeeping. They constituted a guild not under the jurisdiction of the superintendent of schools but very protective of its privileges.

> To become a member one had to demonstrate his capacity as a penman, furnish proof of good morals, establish residence in the locality for at least three years previous, and undergo an examination.[52]

The spacious and well lighted boutique of the writing master was very well known in Paris.[53] Jean Baptiste Allais de Beaulieu, the best known writing master of the seventeenth century, was reported to have refused a position of ten thousand livres offered him by Louvois, because his own class, composed of those who were of the "best" of Paris, offered him twice that amount![54] The writing masters disdained the poor whom, in principle, the other primary teachers had to accept. The writing masters resented the effectiveness of the simplified method of teaching writing employed in the little schools. They took the case to court and won the litigation restricting the quality of the writing models that could be used in the little schools, but they were not able to monopolize the cursive art they considered theirs.[55] The guild finally dissolved in 1791.[56]

Traditionally all primary school enterprises and personnel were under the direction of the superintendent of schools whose authority

went back to the decrees of the Council of Lateran in the thirteenth century.[57] In the seventeenth century it was taken for granted and even confirmed by law that the superintendent was the undisputed head of all little schools. No one could open a primary school or hire any primary teacher without his approval.[58] The superintendent was the protector of teachers' rights, especially their financial rights. Strictly speaking, only the writing masters and the teachers of the little schools had the right to engage in public primary education for pay. They were willing to waive this right in the case of the charity schools for the bona fide poor.[59] The existence of such schools meant no diminution in their revenues.

> The superintendent's great preoccupation as far as charity schools were concerned was to make sure that their growth and multiplication should cause no financial prejudice to the teachers of the little schools.[60]

When the Council of Trent prescribed that free primary instruction be established within the parish, it was inaugurating a new system of authority in primary education namely, the pastor.[61] The newly empowered and zealous pastors refused to accept any outside authority interfering with their parish schools and with their hiring of teachers. The issue converged in Paris, and the traditional authority of the superintendent and the Tridentine responsibility of the pastors clashed in the courts as the cause celebre for forty years! Eighty-three year old Claude Joly had been the superintendent of schools of Paris since mid-century. A capable administrator, he had drawn up the Rules and Regulations for the little schools of Paris and its suburbs. A learned scholar, he published as part of his court

defense, A Treatise on the History of Schools.[62] A strong-willed individual, Joly battled in court for nearly half a century for his right to control all primary education.

> We shall contest the power claimed by the pastors of Paris to control the schools, under the name and pretext of charity, without the permission of the superintendent to whom alone belongs this power.[63]

In 1684 a compromise was reached by which the pastors obtained the right to establish parish schools and to hire their own teachers, but the parish school had to be a charity school for the real poor.[64]

The proceedings of assemblies conducted by Joly for the schoolmasters indicate that he provided them pedagogical information and motivation. No doubt he attempted to uphold the professional standards established by the teachers' union by means of his hiring practices. However, judging from a pamphlet of the time in which Joly is satirically lampooned for employing a motley collection of "low pot-house keepers, second-hand shop proprietors, silk-weaver flunkeys, wig-makers, and marionette string-pullers," we may still wonder about the quality of his teachers.[65] Apart from the obvious satirical exaggerations, it is probable that Joly was forced to hire undesirable characters because of the lack of good teachers. The record shows that drunkenness was a common failing of teachers. Under the influence of alcohol, teachers would use bad language, punish students cruelly, desecrate the prayers and hymns. In short, the Paris primary school teachers, who were hired often without having to prove their aptitude and character, tended to be of low moral standing.[66] The sad condition of the teachers in the primary schools in Lyon was similar.

> Many of the teachers are ignorant not only of reading and writing well but even of the principles of religion. With regard to these latter there are heretics, impious, those who work at infamous jobs. Under their guidance the young are in real danger of perishing.[67]

Teaching the poor in free schools was so unattractive that it was filled mainly by those who could not do better elsewhere.

Unfortunately, as today, teachers in the seventeenth century frequently had to supplement their income with a second job.[68] Primary teachers in rural areas frequently were men occupied in some definite trade or occupation (cobbler, tailor, ropemaker) who were prepared to give some time daily to the task of instructing children in the elements of knowledge. They had no training in any kind of teaching. These craftsmen teachers often plied their trade while they taught, that is, while they listened to recitations. Sometimes a poor country parish priest was forced to earn his living by becoming a part-time teacher.[69] His teaching also suffered from conflicts with his holy craft. Very often the rural parish schoolteacher was also the church sacristan and caretaker.

The General Assembly of Clergy in 1685 took pains to honor the sacristan teacher for his services in the church.

> The schoolmasters, clothed in their surplices, should be incensed in the church and should hold the place of honor above all the laity, even the aristocracy of the parish.[70]

At the same time the government offered benefits to attract qualified persons into full-time teaching.

> Teachers enjoyed exemption from military service even if they were single - a valued privilege indeed, especially under Louis XIV! - and also from certain taxes; nor could they be called upon to exercise the role of tax collector, a difficult and somewhat dangerous assignment.[71]

With the increase of better funded schools at the end of the seventeenth century, part-time teachers gave way to full-time teachers.[72] There is evidence that the education of the full-time craftsman teacher was done in the form of apprenticeship. For example, when Adrien Nyel (1621-1687) came to Reims to open charity schools, he had a fourteen-year-old boy as his teaching assistant.[73] No doubt the boy was serving a teaching apprenticeship. Nyel, an experienced promoter who organized teachers for the charity schools in Rouen, very probably employed an apprenticeship method for training teachers. There are known cases in which generations of the same family carried on as teachers in the same school.[74] The position was no doubt handed down from father to son in a manner similar to apprenticeship.

Charles Demia (1637-1689), appointed by the bishop to be in charge of all the primary schools in the diocese of Lyon, realized that, if he was to succeed, he had to form good teachers. He knew such an employment demanded as much of an apprenticeship as the other crafts.[75]

> Whatever care that one takes to establish schools which are so useful and necessary for the public, one will never succeed unless one has good teachers to serve them; and one shall never have good teachers unless they have been well trained and prepared for this function.[76]

Demia gained control of the situation by requiring an examination of all primary school teachers before hiring or renewing contracts, and by renewing teaching licenses for only one to three years.[77] He personally interviewed all teaching applicants and examined them on their religious practice, teaching ability, and good morals.[78] He required

written reports on the teachers' conduct by the pastors, and frequent inspections of the schools by members of the school board.[79] He required regular attendance at monthly pedagogical assemblies.

> There were pedagogical conferences dealing with educational and pastoral perspectives on a deeper level during which Demia commented on his Rules. He underscored the excellence of the teaching profession. He invited the teachers to live the three virtues of faith, hope and charity. He proposed means of finishing the year well and of beginning the year well. The assembly also dealt with a reading of some pedagogical work such as The Parish School.[80]

Demia directed all the little schools of Lyon, paying and free, with the authority of a superintendent of schools. He drew upon the resources of the ecclesiastical seminary program to form seminarian teachers. Demia determined that, even as the clergy were developed in seminaries specially established for their education, so it was necessary to establish a sort of seminary for the education of primary school teachers. We shall study more about Charles Demia later.

The Priest Teacher

The priest teacher referred to in this section does not include the priest teachers belonging to the three religious orders involved in secondary education in seventeenth century France: the Jesuits, the Oratorians, and the Doctrinaires.[81] However, by extension the title does include clerics and ecclesiastical administrators associated with primary education but not necessarily as teachers. The two reform seminaries of Saint Sulpice and Saint Nicholas du Chardonnet, named after the parishes in Paris in which they were located, provide examples of the education of the priest teacher.[82]

The seminary of Saint Sulpice was founded in 1642 by Jean Jacques Olier (1608-1657). Its faculty was composed of a small band of priests known as the Sulpicians dedicated to the seminary education of priests throughout France.[83] Saint Sulpice became the model seminary for priests from the upper classes. Its seminarians were destined to assume positions of leadership in the Church as pastors and diocesan administrators. An important part of the seminary program was participation in the catechetical instruction program in the parish.

> In addition to the practice of mental prayer, spiritual reading, conferences and virtuous exercises, the seminarians should apply themselves to teaching catechism, to pulpit preaching and to the other functions proper to a priest.[84]

> The Sulpician ambience, in the seminary and in the parish, left no one ignorant about education in school. The interest of the seminarians was awakened. General information on the importance of charity schools and on the manner of instructing children in a Christian manner was communicated to them. The seminarians' knowledge was much but it was not sufficient to confer the competence of a specialist.[85]

Olier kept active in education. He opened seven charity schools in the parish. He drew up a rule for the schools' management and a system of supervision for assuring the progress of the children.[86] He established a "house of instruction" which catered to poor girls who had been through the charity school and who wanted further training as servant apprentices.[87] All the graduates of Saint Sulpice knew the importance of the instruction of the poor through the example of Olier and through their own experience. What is known about DeLaSalle's stay at Saint Sulpice should also have been true for the other seminarians.

> Saint Sulpice does provide the seminarians with contact with the children of the poor whom they had scarcely known before. It awakens their interest to the social problem of popular teaching without exciting in them a particular vocation. It (probably) provided them with participation in an interesting parochial catechetical program but for the most part outside of school. It does procure for them information on child psychology and pedagogical methods currently utilized. It permits them especially to measure the extent of the gaps which existed in the Christian formation of the children of the poor and in the preparation of their teachers for teaching.[88]

Whereas the seminary of Saint Sulpice was established for the reform of the education of upper-class candidates to the priesthood, the seminary of Saint Nicholas du Chardonnet was founded for the education of lower-class candidates, those intended primarily to serve in poor and rural parishes.[89] The seminary was established in 1642 by Adrien Bourdoise. Since 1622 Bourdoise had been involved with the little schools located in the parish. Bourdoise was aware of the acute problem regarding the poor quality of the primary teachers. The complaints were in effect unanimous in deploring the lack of capacity and the lack of morals of primary teachers. To remedy this situation Bourdoise proposed to combine ecclesiastical and pedagogical education.[90] Bourdoise firmly believed that a priest should also be a teacher, and he incorporated teaching and catechizing as important parts of the seminary program at Saint Nicholas du Chardonnet. He held up the priest teacher to the seminarians as an ideal. The tragic reality of the time, however, reveals that the majority of the poorer clergy had little education. Bourdoise himself describes the situation.

> Our everyday experience has made us aware that most of the poor clergy do not know their catechism nor do they read well. They are not knowledgeable of the truths of faith or of their moral

> obligations. They would have learned all of this in their youth if they had attended well-run Christian schools.[91]

In 1649 Bourdoise and Olier formed an association of prayer, which became very popular at the turn of the decade, aimed at beseeching heaven to send priest teachers who would work as apostles and not as mercenaries.[92] Bourdoise guaranteed canonization to any priest who worked at being a good teacher. In a letter to Olier he writes:

> In order to have a school useful to Christianity, one must have teachers who will work there as perfect Christians, and not like hirelings, regarding their teaching as a miserable trade, taken up to get their daily bread.
>
> For my part I would willingly beg from door to door to procure the means of living for a real school teacher. I would implore all the men of the universities, who wished to be like Saint Francis Xavier, not to go to Japan or the Indies to convert the infidel, but to begin this excellent work right here.
>
> I believe that a priest who desires to become a saint should become a school teacher. He will be canonized for it.[93]

Bourdoise's ideal of priest teacher was congruent with his clerical idea of the parish school as "the novitiate of Christianity, the seminary of seminaries."[94] His concept of the parish school made teaching reading and writing secondary to developing ministry and service in the Church.[95] The parish school taught by the priest teacher was to be a novitiate for clerical vocations.

The seminarians of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet had in their own parish an excellent example of a priest teacher: Father Jacques DeBathencourt.[96] DeBathencourt had directed one of the parish schools since 1636. In 1654 he anonymously published the pedagogical wisdom gathered in his eighteen years classroom experience under the title, The Parish School (L'école paroissiale). The book became "one of the

most influential books on pedagogy that helped give direction to practical educational efforts in the second half of the seventeenth century."[97] The Parish School was a guide to primary school teaching intended for the pedagogical reform of the more than three hundred primary school teachers of Paris.[98]

> [The purpose is] to break up the monotony of routine, to stimulate and support initiatives, and to bring about an exchange of ideas and solutions to problems.[99]

It remained the only teacher-education manual available until The Conduct of Schools by DeLaSalle was published in 1720.[100]

The Parish School is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the qualities of a good teacher, the physical appointments of the school, and the conditions for accepting students. The second part concerns the theory and the practice of teaching the catechism and the school prayers. The third part concerns methodology for teaching the three r's, Latin, and Greek. The most attractive part of the book is the portrait of the good teacher.

> Even as the heart is the first organ to live in man and the last organ to die in man, and as it is also the principal seat of the soul, so the teacher ought to be the heart of the school.[101]

The central theme of The Parish School deals with the pedagogical practice of the theological and cardinal virtues. These virtues are to animate all the actions of the teacher vis-a-vis the children. For example, the virtue of prudence:

> The first act of prudence that the teacher ought to exercise is to see if he has the virtues and qualities necessary before undertaking this employment. (No one is perfect, but he ought to foresee if he has the disposition to do a good job.) His aptitude, affection and zeal for an employment which is not regarded highly by most people will be a sign that he has a calling to be a teacher.

> Finally, after having prayed over the matter, he ought to take counsel with prudent, pious, and learned persons.[102]
>
> The prudent teacher tries to understand the nature of his students. This shall serve much to the good conduct of the students. To this end he shall have conferences with their parents. He shall also observe new arrivals carefully to see if they are gentle and docile. If they grumble at the first correction and will not obey, he shall deal with them gently. If they have been hardened to correction by the blows of their parents or former teacher, he shall try to win them over by friendship. He shall always convince them of their fault before using punishment as a remedy.[103]

The Parish School consecrates no less than nineteen paragraphs to the virtue of justice "of which a young teacher will have great need in obtaining obedience from the children."[104] After making an analysis of The Parish School, one author concludes:

> Certain methodological prescriptions of The Parish School keep their value. At least these simple annotations show that the good teacher of the ancien regime was someone who tried to know his students, who reflected on his methods, and who sought to better his art. In this regard he remains for us an example.[105]

The Parish School does not tell us specifically how the exemplary teacher was formed. DeBathencourt was content with the examination of teacher candidates by a jury of notables, and with a certain unity of principles and methods enforced by means of inspection visits by the hierarchy.[106] Upgrading the quality of the primary teacher, the responsibility of ecclesiastical and municipal officials, was to be accomplished through the process of selecting teachers who "will take an oath to keep the prescribed rules and regulations of The Parish School."[107] Avis touchant les petites écoles, a seventeenth century document, well written and clearly reasoned evidently by a priest teacher but without name or date, makes a case for training

primary school teachers in methods of teaching used in the colleges before allowing them to assume charge of a school. The author is generally critical of the lack of education given primary school teachers.

> A shoemaker or blacksmith must learn his trade, but young men without experience, and who are themselves studying, are allowed to try their prentice hand at the expense of those poor little ones.[108]

As a matter of fact, there did not exist in France in 1650 a teaching body seriously prepared for popular primary teaching apart from the congregations of women teachers.[109]

The Nun Teacher

According to seventeenth century canon law religious women had to take public religious vows and to live a cloistered community life.[110] They were called nuns. The congregations of nuns were contemplative, and if they did undertake teaching they taught within the cloister. Two examples of congregations of religious women who taught school were the Ursulines, founded by Angela de Merici in 1535, and the Visitandines, founded by Francis de Sales in 1610. Both congregations developed traditions of excellence in their convent schools.[111] Both gave to the young daughters of the bourgeoisie and the nobility an education conforming to their rank.

> The Ursulines were among the first of the congregations of religious women to set up boarding schools within the convent for the young girls "of condition" who desired to learn politeness and good manners.[112]

Peter Fourier (1565-1640) reacted against the restriction which the cost of boarding placed upon the poor to attending the convent school. He founded the Congregation of Notre Dame, a community of religious women teachers who opened their convents to day classes (externats) for girls of less wealthy families. Fourier also set up day classes to educate older girls to become teachers in charity schools and in rural parish schools. The Congregation of Notre Dame was the first congregation of religious women to be "vowed" to education as their main purpose, "having begun this new apostolate in the year 1597, when no one had yet thought of it, at least that we know of."[113] The priority given to education constituted a major change in attitude for religious women. Fourier continually reminded the nun teachers that they started the Congregation of Notre Dame primarily as teachers and secondarily as nuns; that the education of children was their "sufficient reason for living in community and vowing themselves to God."

> I have always thought that it was necessary to stress that first of all they were schoolteachers and that in order to be better prepared for that occupation they had asked to lead the religious life, for fear that they might think that they were first of all religious who afterwards had asked to teach school.[114]

The Constitutions of 1640 highlights "the instruction of girls as an essential and principal role of this Institute."[115] Alice LeClerc, the first superior and a co-founder with Fourier, maintained that "zeal for teaching was the real subject of her vocation."[116]

Peter Fourier, who preceded DeLaSalle by eighty years, was an incontestable source about teacher education for DeLaSalle.[117] The

literature speaks of Fourier's efforts at teacher education not only of the nun teachers within the congregation but also of externs educated to be teachers outside the cloister. The Constitutions are cited as having changed the nature of the convent by emphasizing the desirability of training teachers: "Finally the monastery shall be, what it never was before, a nursery of country schoolteachers."[118] The convent day school of the Congregation of Notre Dame is likened to a kind of normal school.

> Fourier does not intend to found only one kind of establishment. His school is a kind of normal school or nursery (pépinière) for teachers. Externs are prepared to open little schools in rural areas and even in the towns. They teach piety and the other subjects with diligence and according to the method they learned at Fourier's school. By this means young people everywhere were to be well instructed.[119]

Only candidates the most proper and the best disposed to learning and teaching are accepted for teaching, and only after they are given a serious education.[120]

> After the eighth month of the novitiate they shall practice teaching in one of the extern classes under the direction of the experienced teachers who shall be with them in the classroom and who shall make reports on their performance.[121]

> Each of them, before being employed, shall be diligently examined by the superior, carefully instructed by the supervisor (intendante) and prepared as a conscientious worker capable of teaching properly the little girls everything that we make a profession of teaching in the class to which we assign her.[122]

The supervisor visits the classes frequently to see how the beginning teacher is doing and to question the students on their progress. She makes a weekly report to the superior.[123]

Fourier encourages the nun teacher to search constantly to improve her teaching. The Constitutions leaves the door open to research and the adoption of new methods.

> In order to improve teaching, they shall engage in searches together for new ways (conférences d'inventions) by which they might be able to make the students advance.
>
> The nun teachers shall instruct their students by the methods explained hereafter or by better methods which their community shall discover.
>
> They shall learn the method described in this chapter and in the next twelve. They shall observe them until they have found another method more efficient and effective.[124]

In 1634, returning from a visit to the convent school at Nancy, Fourier wrote back to the nuns:

> During my visit to your school I did not take the time to ask you for some important information on your teaching. I would like to know what method you employ in the instruction of your day students and your boarding students. Please draw up for me a little treatise on this matter. Let me know in short paragraphs what you do in teaching piety, catechism, prayers, sacraments; reading, writing, spelling; manners and modesty. Let me know also the schedule and the hours that you keep.[125]

In effect Fourier was asking the teaching nuns to write a Conduct of Schools.[126] Fourier often repeats in his pedagogical conferences how important it is for the teacher to have a loving concern for her students. It is the heart of the child that is to be touched, and the teacher has to do everything possible toward that goal.

> The teachers shall treat the students with kindness and with the affection of a mother. They shall never injure them, or mock them, or say anything or make any sign which would show contempt, disdain, anger, or impatience. They shall never show an appearance of being upset, rigorous, austere, chagrined, sad or annoyed. They shall never strike, push, or snub them. They shall always act in such a way that the students know that they can come in all confidence and without any fear of their teacher, whenever it is necessary.[127]

A touching account of Fourier in the last days of his life portrays him practicing what he had preached.

> Broken down as he was, he went every day to the schools and taught the abc's to the slowest and the worse behaved children. He immersed himself in the arduous work of the classroom (parmi la poussière). He heard the spelling lessons of the slowest students with assiduity, patience and gentleness. He was a model teacher up to the very end.[128]

Fourier died at the age of eighty-five.

The Sister Teacher

A new educational force for teaching the poor emerged from the Church in seventeenth century France: secular congregations of pious women. Onto the educational scene of the superintendents of schools, teacher guilds, pastors, and religious congregations, came associations of pious ladies dedicated to teaching poor girls outside the convent cloister. These women teachers, called sisters, broke with the traditional canonical definition of women religious.[129]

> The sisters lived in community under the dependence of a superior, with or without vows of religion. This extension of the sense of the words is necessary if one wishes to understand the moving reality of a period in the course of which canon law was being tested.[130]

The sister teachers left the convent each day to go out into the city or the countryside to teach poor girls for whom, for all practical purposes, there were no other prepared teachers. The secular congregations of sister teachers constituted the teaching force of the girls' charity school movement. They released the talent and energy of thousands of young women in their late teens or early twenties and made them available to teaching the poor. They grew rapidly, and more

than fifty secular congregations, numbering more than eighty thousand sisters involved in teaching and other works of charity, were founded before the Revolution.[131] The secular congregations of sister teachers assured the recruitment of primary teachers and established a tradition in teaching methods and studies.[132]

> All the provinces of France had their own congregations, created in the first instance for the special needs of the town or diocese and gradually growing and stretching forth their branches until there was no room left anywhere for ignorance.[133]

> There were a number of religious communities that met the educational needs of girls at the time. They provided a higher type of person as teacher, because of the religious sensibility of women and because they offered a real opportunity of service for women other than the eldest daughter.[134]

A quick review of the literature on the secular communities will help focus their impact on seventeenth century primary education and teacher education.[135]

The secular congregation, Sisters of Charity, founded by Vincent DePaul and Louise DeMarillac in 1633 in Paris to conduct hospitals, orphanages, other social agencies, as well as charity schools, was the pioneer community of uncloistered secular sisters.[136] The Daughters of Saint Genevieve were founded in 1636 by Mme. Miramion "to instruct little girls and to train teachers for rural schools and to shelter and feed these teachers for a time."[137] The Béates de LePuy-en-Velay founded in the middle of the century were concerned with the training of primary teachers.[138] M. Tronson, the director of the seminary of Saint Sulpice after Olier died, founded the Ladies of Instruction (1668) "to form teachers who settled in villages and hamlets to spread instruction under the vigilant supervision of the

parish priest."[139] Their community house is described as a nursery for growing teachers.

> It is a kind of nursery garden (pépinière) for the work of education. The novitiate is the meeting place of all these dedicated workers. They form school teachers full of zeal for the Christian instruction of children. Teachers come there to make retreats of eight or ten days. Some remain for a complete year in order to form themselves in their method of teaching.[140]

The institute of the Daughters of the Cross (1671), founded by Mme. de Villeneuve and covering the face of Picardy with its houses, trained teachers for rural schools and became the primitive model of French normal schools.[141] The same is true of the Sisters of Saint Charles at Angers, who constituted a kind of normal school for women teachers.[142] Undoubtedly the secular communities had a significant effect on teacher education throughout France.

> In a certain number of dioceses, from Ile de France to Languedoc, we find teaching sisters (filles régentes) not only dedicated to the Christian instruction of young girls, but to the education of schoolteachers to be sent into the parishes, and to the visitation of rural schools in order to supervise the teachers whom they have formed.[143]

In 1672 Felix Vialart, bishop of Chalons, founded the Teaching Daughters (filles régentes).

> [He believed] that the best way to improve the supply of teachers, and education in general, is to establish houses of seculars, in which they dedicate themselves to the Christian instruction of young girls, and they form there schoolteachers to go out into the parishes.[144]

Vialart emphasized that such foundations were especially for the education of schoolteachers capable of working in the rural areas.

> Although the principal objective of their institution was the teaching of religion, they formed kinds of normal schools where the schoolteachers came to acquire the knowledge which was necessary for them.[145]

> In their seminary, to which a school was attached, they received boarding student teachers whom they formed through courses and through experiences in the annex classes. Outside of the seminary they spent some time visiting the schools in the villages where they had placed their former student teachers. According to the need and to the personnel available, they also opened schools. Essentially diocesan, they constituted a secular community strictly dependent on the bishop and the parishes.[146]

As drawn up by Vialart, the ordinary duties of the sister teachers included the following:

> (1) to form schoolteachers for the instruction of young girls; (2) to teach reading, writing, catechism, Christian living, and manual skills; (3) to go, two or three together, for several months of the year, to the countryside parishes to supervise schoolteachers; (4) to receive into their houses schoolteachers who wish to make retreats of several days length; (5) to care for the sick.[147]

Nicholas Barré (1621-1686), a priest of the order of Minims, with the support of an auxiliary of generous and wealthy ladies, founded two secular congregations, the Sisters of Providence (1668) in Rouen and the Sisters of Saint Maur (named after the street on which their house was located) in Paris. The Sisters of Providence appear to be the first organization of women country school teachers.[148]

> The originality of Barré does not merit any the less to be underlined. His community in Rouen was before all else a seminary of apostolic teachers, a center of formation at the same time religious and pedagogical. It responded willingly to appeals coming from outside the diocese. It rejected the cloister in order to maintain better contact with the common people (milieux populaires). It put itself at the service of the parish clergy in order to help in some of its ministerial services dealing with women and girls. It was not against dispersing its members, in groups of two, into the small towns and villages in the countryside in order to propagate the faith. Without requiring vows, it demanded the most complete evangelical detachment and renouncement. It even demanded missionary service in foreign countries.[149]

What the Sisters of Charity had done for the works of mercy in Paris, the sister teachers of Barré did for the instruction of the poor in

Rouen.[150] Their novitiates soon became seminaries for schoolteachers beyond Rouen. Barré housed teacher candidates with the sister teachers in order to form them as better teachers.[151] He put a sister in charge of the house "who had a happy disposition for teaching."[152] Barré formed his sister teachers by means of pedagogical courses that stressed the sublimity of the teaching vocation.[153]

> This congregation, perfectly adapted to its ends, uniquely vowed to popular education, without obstacle of cloister, giving its members a solid pedagogical preparation, appeared as the model of religious teaching institutes.[154]

When Mme. DeMaintenon, second wife of Louis XIV, opened the school of St. Cyr for the daughters of financially poor nobility, she invited the Sisters of Saint Maur to form the future directresses (Dames de St.Louis).[155] Judging from Barré's advice to one unhappy teacher, one wonders, however, about the psychology of his dealing with women teachers: "Remain where you are. You shall be more miserable elsewhere."[156]

Nicholas Roland (1642-1678), a close friend of DeLaSalle, was a canon at the cathedral of Reims and a precocious man closely in touch with the educational reform experiments going on.[157] At the age of twenty-eight Roland had vowed himself to the education of the poor. He persuaded Barré to send two of his teaching sisters from Rouen to help him start charity schools for poor girls in Reims.[158] This constituted the foundation of the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus of Reims, whose educational work grew to include teaching and caring for thirty orphan girls in an orphanage sponsored by Roland, teaching a total of one thousand girls in the four charity schools of Reims,

giving retreats to women "who deplored their ignorance of the things necessary for salvation," and forming teachers for country schools.[159] Apparently Roland also wanted to start charity schools for boys, but "he had not had the time to set about it."[160] Roland was more concerned with the moral quality of teacher education than with instruction in pedagogical skills.

> Roland's overriding interest was the education of the young. . . . This was certainly an excellent cure for the evils he sought to eliminate, but it was not an easy one to apply. To establish gratuitous schools he had to find the resources and funds to support them. Nor was that all. He had to find teachers capable of instructing the young and of bringing them up in piety by their example as well as by their words. The problem was where to find such teachers, where to discover disinterested, zealous and pious persons fit to carry out a task of this nature. . . . To expect them to come down from heaven already prepared and ready to undertake this task successfully would have been to take pious illusions for realities. . . . Since virtue is not given at birth, and since it is only at the cost of labor and great effort that we can acquire it, the solution to Canon Roland's problem was to establish communities something like seminaries where teachers would be instructed and prepared in view of bringing up the young in piety and of teaching them Christian doctrine.[161]

Roland's early plan for his sister teachers provides a concrete illustration of the teaching engagement of the sister teacher.

> -A teacher is able to teach well only fifty children.
> -The community ought to limit itself (in 1677) to twenty teachers for one thousand pupils.
> -It is necessary to have novice teachers who will become capable of succeeding the older teachers.
> -It is necessary that some take sabbaticals, it being very difficult to teach all one's life without some break.
> -The free schools of the whole town shall be in the hands of the sisters.
> -All the children who present themselves shall be accepted if there are enough teachers.
> -The Council of the town ought not to have any say in the internal administration of the house.
> -The community shall be funded, that is to say, that a sufficient capital shall be guaranteed for it.[162]

Brief excerpts from the declaration on the utility of the congregation given by the testators after Roland's death also illustrate the sister teacher engagement.

-The great good that the free school for poor girls produced in the four quarters of the city.
-The large number of students: one thousand.
-The interest in the education providing reading, writing, good manners.
-The importance of the amount of funds donated to the work by private individuals.
-The quality of the teachers guaranteed by the fact that they are exclusively drawn from the community of the Holy Infant Jesus.
-The quality of the secular sisters (filles séculieres) who are those without solemn vows and cloister.
-The number of sisters, limited to a maximum of thirty and a minimum of twenty.
-The undertaking of the care of young orphans beginning at age three but no older than age eight, and no more than thirty in number. (There were thirty-three.)
-The admission of the orphans left to the discretion of the lieutenant of the city.
-A severance of one hundred livres to each sister in case the community shall dissolve.[163]

The Seminarian Teacher

Charles Demia had studied at the seminary of Saint Nicholas du Chardonnet and at the seminary of Saint Sulpice. He worked for twenty-five years in the diocese of Lyon as regional director of public instruction, opening new schools, regulating those that already existed, and preparing capable schoolteachers.[164] Demia founded sixteen gratuitous schools with a total enrollment of sixteen hundred girls and boys.[165] In his will he stipulated that every student at his funeral receive a schoolboy jacket or a schoolgirl apron. He

bequeathed his wealth to the secular communities of men and women whom he had organized to teach and to prepare others to teach.[166]

In 1666 at the age of twenty-nine Demia addressed a veritable manifesto, Remonstrances, to the principal citizens of Lyon, pleading the cause of free education for the poor in the city.[167] Reading the Remonstrances is like reading a modern appeal for the passage of legislation to open new schools.[168]

> Experience makes only too clear that crimes are ordinarily committed by those who have been badly brought up. . . . The good habits contracted in youth are very rarely lost. The seed planted in the spirit comes forth sooner or later.
>
> The poor, not having the means of educating their children, leave them in ignorance. The care that they have of earning a living makes them forget to teach their children how to live well. Having been poorly brought up and not having received an education in their youth, the only thing they can communicate to their children is the disorder that the father has lived during his youth. All this makes for the fact that they care very little that the children learn the morals and duties of Christianity.[169]
>
> Young people badly brought up ordinarily fall into laziness from which it happens that they are not able to get a job. They hang around the street corners where they spend their time in dissolute talk. They become rebellious, libertine, blasphemous, quarrelsome. They give themselves to drunkenness, impurity, thievery, and disorder. Finally they become depraved and critical of the state.[170]
>
> What is the cause for all the disorders and jealousies in homes, for all the places of infamy in the city, for all the infants left at the Hospice, for all the dissolution of public morals, if it is not that we have not had enough care for the education of young girls? We have left them in ignorance, after which they have fallen into idleness and then into lying, disobedience, inconstancy, and finally into misery, which is the most common reef on which the shame of this sex is shipwrecked.[171]
>
> It is then the lack of a good education that gives rise to the difficulty of finding faithful servants and responsible workers. This lack also puts on the street idle vagabonds who know only how to eat, drunks, trouble-makers and beggars. It is their behavior which makes us fearful of public disorders, and which gives us

reason to fear that the funds destined for the poor are not used for the end intended.[172]

To give to the poor food against hunger or clothing against the cold is a passing good deed. To give to the poor a good education is a permanent alms. An education received in one's youth is a beneficial possession for a lifetime.[173]

The little schools are for the instruction of the children of the poor. With the fear of God and good morals, they are taught to read, to write and to calculate. Capable teachers teach them those things which shall prepare them to work in most of the crafts and trade. . . . By this means craftsmen and manufacturers shall obtain little by little good apprentices who in turn shall become excellent craftsmen.[174]

Schools shall be academies of perfection for these poor children. The spirited passions of youth shall be controlled and submitted to reason. Their understanding shall be enlightened by the virtues taught them. Their memory shall be filled with good things which they shall cherish. Their wills shall be enkindled by the examples of virtue which shall be practiced there.[175]

To whom are we to have recourse for the execution of this project if it is not to the charity and the zeal of the sacristans, curates, and caretakers of each parish; and to those who are in charge of the courts and who are called the fathers of the people? . . . We hope also that the Archbishop shall give some sign of his piety and zeal to the accomplishment of this project so important to the glory of God, the good of the state, the usefulness of individuals, and the advantage of the city.[176]

In 1673, by the authority of the archbishop and with the backing of the powerful Company of the Blessed Sacrament, Demia created a school board with himself as the president, to direct all the primary teachers of the diocese of Lyon.[177] The school board was composed of sixteen notables: eight ecclesiastics and eight laics (nobles, judges, shopkeepers, and merchants). With the backing of the school board and the archbishop, Demia consecrated himself henceforth to the reorganization of diocesan education and to the continued education of teachers through monthly in-service meetings. We have already

described the dramatic success Demia had in the reformation of his teachers.

In the year prior Demia had founded the seminary of Saint Charles for young men aspiring to the priesthood, and at the same time consecrating themselves to the primary instruction of children. Demia believed that primary school teaching could be an important part of the preparation for ordination.

> [Seminarians] should pass through the novitiate of the classroom before going on to the priesthood because it is by instructing children that they learn how to instruct adults.[178]

The program at St. Charles for the seminarian teachers attempted to keep a balance between teaching and theological studies.[179] The daily regulation of the seminary indicated its dual function by mixing religious exercises and classes of philosophy and theology with lessons in scripture and catechism studied in the Tridentine text for those who were not yet assigned to a diocesan school. The seminarian teachers could stay three years in the seminary with a continuation of another three years with the approval of the school board, but "the principle of passage and not one of installation in teaching remained untouchable."[180] Primary school teaching was considered a temporary phase in the process leading to the priesthood. According to an observer at the time, the young seminarian teachers lived at Saint Charles in an exemplary and well-regulated manner.

> Nothing is more edifying than to see this community leave the house every morning and afternoon at the same time. Twelve school teachers, each with an assistant, also a cleric, went into a different quarter of the city to instruct boys who assembled in apartments which their pious founder had rented as a school.[181]

However, from its conception the seminary of Saint Charles was an ambiguous institution: at the same time a place of retreat and study for ordination, and a center for forming and recycling teachers and seminary clerics.[182] The ambiguity was caused by the fact that some of the participants in the teacher education program of the seminary were non-clerics (widowed or celibate).

Presentations in the literature have taken different positions regarding the seminary of Saint Charles as an ecclesiastical seminary or a teacher training institute.[183] Compayré describes the seminary of Saint Charles as a real normal school, at least in the beginning when laymen were admitted on condition that "they were virtuous and celibates or widowers without children."

> Insofar as Demia founded the seminary for the support of the schools, he expressly says in his Regulations: 'Each one makes a profession not to apply himself to preaching, but only to the instruction of poor people'; and insofar as Demia desired that all the male teachers of his schools would learn their trade in passing one or two years in the seminary.[184]

Cubberley points out in a footnote that Demia had founded twelve years beforehand an institution for teacher education similar to that of DeLaSalle.[185] Later in the text, however, he makes the following distinction:

> The training of would-be teachers for the work of instruction is an entirely modern procedure. The first class definitely organized for imparting training to teachers concerning which we have any record was a small local training group of teachers of reading and the catechism conducted by Father Demia at Lyon, France. The first normal school to be established anywhere was that founded at Reims in northern France in 1685 by Abbé DeLaSalle.[186]

Bonnel speaks of Demia's seminary as the first normal school.

> It was precisely the recruitment of teachers which preoccupied Abbé Demia. The seminary of Saint Charles was especially destined to do this. It was, in reality, the first primary normal school. The seminarians, while studying for the priesthood, directed the boys' schools. They were helped by lay teachers who had to spend some time in the seminary, not only to be tested for their piety, but also to be formed for teaching. . . . Demia had the thought in founding the seminary of Saint Charles of responding to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent and, at the same time, of helping in the recruitment of the lower clergy.[187]

Riboulet describes Demia's seminary as a veritable normal school.[188] Rynois gives a brief account of Demia's efforts at training teachers, but he regards the foundation as an ecclesiastical seminary rather than a normal school.[189] Brunot considers the seminary of Saint Charles qualified as a normal school.[190] Chartier's recent study of the enrollment records seems to give the most objective picture of the seminary.

> Between the years 1679-1693, 427 individuals are recorded as entering the seminary, or an average of 28 each year. For the majority their passage through Saint Charles constitutes one step in the life of an ecclesiastic. Only one-fourth stay more than one year. Three-fourths stay ten months or less; half, not more than four months; one-fourth, a few days or a few weeks. Six out of ten become ecclesiastics; three out of ten become schoolteachers.[191]

Unfortunately as conceived by Demia, the seminarian teacher and the seminary of Saint Charles had no future. The theological studies of the priesthood and the professional preparation of the teacher appear to have been incompatible.[192] After Demia's death a division developed between the school board and the administration over the function of the seminary. The treasurer of the board wanted the seminary of Saint Charles to be solely for teachers not going on to the priesthood. The director of the seminary wanted it to be an

ecclesiastical institute for the formation of future priests. The second view prevailed.[193]

Ironically the most lasting undertaking of Demia was the secular community of sister teachers which he had started quite tentatively.[194] In 1679 Demia rented a house for the women teachers to see if they could live together in harmony. They formed a secular community the next year, but it was not until 1686 that Demia requested that a Sister of Providence come from Paris to take direction of the education of the new teacher applicants. The school board took on the financing of the community and defined the board's relation to it.

> The Sisters promise to apply themselves as much as they are able to the advancement and perfection of the schools for the poor under the management of the director . . . and to follow what the school board shall judge correct.[195]

Thus began the community of the Sisters of Saint Charles which still exists.

Compayré also credits Demia for establishing Lyon as a center for training diocesan school directors.

> He invited his correspondents to send to Lyon gifted ecclesiastics to learn under his direction the manner of teaching children, and to bring back to their own resident dioceses the good methods learned at their source. When it was not possible for Demia to send out teachers to dioceses as requested, he sent out his published Rules for schools.[196]

Chartier more accurately informs us that the seminary of Saint Charles was solely for the teacher needs of the diocese of Lyon, but that Demia did go into other dioceses to promote similar seminaries, and that he did train some teachers from outside Lyon as exceptions.[197]

Poutet emphasizes that the diocesan territorial limitation was a major difference between the teacher education programs of Demia and DeLaSalle. Whereas Demia promoted a federalism under the bishop of each diocese, DeLaSalle favored one autonomous organization for the whole country.[198]

In 1685 when Demia had been a veteran educator with over twenty years of experience in primary teacher education,[199] he made a trip to Paris to recommend to the General Assembly of Clergy the ambitious project of setting up a seminary for the education of primary teachers in every diocese of France.[200] The proposal was printed and distributed under the title, Avis important.[201] Demia no doubt was encouraged to publish the proposal as a way of influencing future legislation.

> We present important advice bearing on the establishment of a kind of seminary for the formation of school-teachers in order to make good use of the goods (wealth) of fugitive Huguenots.[202]

The 1686 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the 1688 Declaration decreed that all the wealth confiscated from the fleeing Huguenots was to be used for the education of the "newly converted."

The Avis important is divided into three parts of unequal length: (1) the necessity of establishing such a seminary; (2) the exercises to be performed there; (3) the means for executing this plan. In the preface of the seven-page memoir Demia makes reference to the teacher education efforts of himself in Lyon and DeLaSalle in Reims.

> It is certain that if His Majesty established seminaries to form teachers, he shall procure for all his kingdom the advantages that

the cities of Lyon and Reims begin to taste by such seminaries of teachers.[203]

The first part contains the following warning:

> When there are no such teacher training nurseries (pépinières), the wealthy and influential, but not necessarily the most virtuous, are able to appoint their servants to be the teachers in new schools as a recompense. This practice can have dangerous consequences for the public.
>
> When there are no such teacher training nurseries, one is obliged sometimes to hire the first teachers who apply.
>
> When there are no such teacher training nurseries, it is very difficult to make a substitution when a teacher becomes sick or fails in his duty, or when it is necessary to make a change for any reason. However, when one has such teacher training communities, one is able to draw on substitute teachers.
>
> Children are soft wax on which one is able to form all sorts of figures. If teachers are virtuous, they shall make angels. If they are vicious, they shall make demons. . . . There is no art, the mastery of which does not require spending a length of time in apprenticeship. Shall it be said that instructing youth and directing their minds wisely, which the holy fathers call the 'art of arts,' does not also require with good reason an apprenticeship? One is able to do this apprenticeship well only in a community established for the formation of such teachers.

The second part, very short, is completed by a kind of outline of the program proposed for the student teachers.

> The student teachers should be taught by means of exercises: how to present the catechism well; how to read Latin and French well by establishing, if it is possible, a uniformity of language forbidding certain corrupt patois; how to write well and to calculate well. They may be taught, if one wishes, elements of Euclid, plain chant, refinement, politeness, and classroom management (which they could learn themselves in the place where they actually teach). They should be taught child psychology and methodology in order to be better able to teach children the duties of religion, the love of virtue, the horror of vice. They should also be taught the psychology of different character types and how to control them, the secrets of the art of making teaching easy and effective, and loyalty to the king.[204]

The third part describes how twelve geographical locations are to be used as diocesan centers for the seminaries. The revenue obtained from the confiscated goods of the Huguenots is to be supplemented, if need be, by a tax, a royal bequest, or the generosity of the faithful. The applicants are to be neither priests nor married folk but celibates and clerics. The Avis important ends with the obligatory dithyramb praising the work of Louis XIV, and assuring the king

> that the care he shall give the seminaries for the formation of teachers shall give to the portrait of Louis the trait of beauty and perfection which shall make him known throughout the world as the greatest in piety and wisdom, as he is in courage the most powerful of all the rulers of the world.[205]

Demia never got to present the Avis important. A substitute plan for universal primary teacher education was presented instead by M. Chennevières, "a priest of Paris serving the poor."[206] In a rather prolix style (the memoir to the King is fifty pages) this zealous priest advocated the establishment of seminaries for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in every diocese of France "for the good of religion and the benefit of the state." The following is a synopsis of Chennevières' utopian plan for the education of teachers as presented to the General Assembly of Clergy:

> In less than fifteen days, or three weeks at the most, it shall be very easy to establish these two seminaries in every diocese in France. . . . During these fifteen days a general mission should be held in each diocese. These missions will permit the discovery of the men and women recommendable for enrollment in the seminaries and will furnish the occasion to choose priests capable of conducting the seminaries.
>
> The lack of experienced teachers is foreseen as the great difficulty in the beginning; it will belong to the director to discern among the seminarians those most gifted in pedagogical intuition. These gifted will initiate the others in the science of explaining things well.

> Located in the episcopal cities, the seminaries will spread their good throughout the diocese. Communities of five or six teachers with their assistant teachers will be formed; smaller communities of two or three [or one or two] in the country. All these communities shall be interdependent with a Grand Prefect in charge of all the communities. Prefects and sub-prefects will be in charge of the smaller groups. Each community will have a priest to care for its spiritual needs. All will be under the control of the bishop. The seminaries for men and women teachers will be completely separated.
>
> The poor will be taught gratuitously. The teachers will live on the retributions (confiscated wealth of the Huguenots) and the payments of the better-off students attending the little schools. . . . The program will stress learning the chant and music used in the parishes.
>
> The best disposed children in the schools shall be sent with their parents' consent to the seminary for three years of formation. They will take a simple vow of perseverance to their bishop like the groups founded by Vincent DePaul. They shall wear a short smock (soutenelle), not a soutane.[207]

Chennevière's ambitious plan with its dreams and contradictions went unheeded. Nevertheless, both proposals are indications of the growing awareness of the importance of teacher education in the reform of the primary school in the seventeenth century.

> The text of Chennevières is a witness to us. It reflects the certain aspirations, impatiences, and even presumptions of a milieu, of the clergy of Paris.[208]

The Brother Teacher

Unlike the secular congregations of sister teachers which were numerous, the congregations of men vowed to primary teaching were rare.[209] The reason is easy to understand when one considers that female teachers outside of the religious and secular communities were impossible to find; whereas men, more or less qualified, were relatively easy to hire as primary teachers. The literature mentions a

few unsuccessful attempts at the organized education of male primary schoolteachers.[210] Francis Perdouls (1660) founded primary schools in Blois at Tours and in the country places, but the work did not spread. Three priests (1687) at Autun made a valiant effort.

> They devoted themselves with all their hearts to the instruction of youth, and principally to the children of the poorest among the poor, offering themselves voluntarily and with pleasure to establish a charity school.

The bishop of Beauvais, M. DeBuzanzal, attempted to found a seminary for training schoolmasters with a view to disseminating them afterwards through the parishes, but he could not command the necessary funds. During the school vacation of 1597 Peter Fourier grouped around himself four young men whom he had been preparing for the priesthood with the hope that they would band together and teach under his direction. Unfortunately they left him, and Fourier gave up the idea.[211] The attempts of Nicholas Barré and Adrien Nyel met with limited success.

Nicholas Barré, of whom we have spoken as the founder of two secular congregations of sister teachers, founded in Rouen a congregation of brother teachers. The male and female congregations were considered twin congregations. All Barré's pedagogical and spiritual writings were addressed to both the sister teachers and the brother teachers. Barré wrote Statutes and Regulations, a rule for the teachers, and Maximes, a book of reflections for teachers.[212] The third and fourth parts of the Maximes preserve the quintessence of Barré's teacher education.

> The sisters (and brothers) of the institute assure their salvation by their employment. (Maxime 9)[213]

> The goal of the Christian schools does not consist in giving instruction in knowledge only. The principal end is to give to children an education truly Christian. (Maxime 17)[214]

> They should prepare their classes for one hour from 4:45-5:45 p.m. One hour of personal work will permit them to understand the knowledge that they ought to teach to their children. (Statute)[215]

> The service of the school claims total obedience. The Sisters (and Brothers) shall always be disposed to go to give instruction in whatever place and to whatever person that the superior shall judge appropriate. It shall be necessary to leave all other work in order to be on time for class and to fulfill entirely the program for the day. This is a public service which ought always to be preferred to one's own interest. Any teacher who shall be unfaithful to this article of rule shall be sent away without any hope of returning. (Statute)[216]

Barré personally attended to the education of the schoolteachers by means of monthly spiritual and pedagogical conferences, weekly conferences on the catechism, a series of short personal retreats, and an annual ten-day retreat.[217] The general pedagogical methods advocated by Barré in the Statutes are more modern than those in The Parish School. That the sisters and brothers followed a simultaneous method of class teaching can be deduced from the fact that each teacher was personally charged with seventy or eighty children.[218] Most of what Barré says regarding the teaching of catechism would apply favorably to teaching any other subject. "Teachers ought not to make long discourses, this being contrary to the advancement not only of the children but also of adults."[219] Barré's teachers had the reputation of being excellent catechists.

> In this exercise, it is necessary to avoid all affectation; to leave aside all elevated language; to speak in a simple manner, affable and familiar, in order to be understood as much as possible by the small and the not-so-bright. . . . The teacher shall be very attentive not to advance any proposition of which she has not herself understood the meaning and which she does not know completely how to explain. (Advice for teaching catechism)[220]

The two congregations of sister teachers prospered in numbers but the ephemeral institute of brother teachers was not so fortunate and did not survive.[221] Some biographers have even doubted the real existence of the brother teachers owing to an apparent lack of historical evidence.[222] However, the case for the Barré brother teachers is affirmed by three sources: the references quoted above in the Statutes, the enthusiastic references by Canon Blain, the biographer of DeLaSalle, and the documentation discovered in recent research of seventeenth century Lasallian origins.

> The establishment of the Christian schools presupposes the existence of other institutions devoted to the training of teachers of both sexes who wish to dedicate themselves to the instruction and sanctification of poor children.
>
> Hence Father Barré's zeal led him to undertake the creation of both these necessary establishments. In view of setting up separate schools for boys and girls, he conceived the project of organizing institutions something like seminaries, destined to train the future teachers who would carry out the Christian and gratuitous instruction of the children of the poor, a noble design indeed.
>
> Father Barré did establish training houses for schoolmasters and for schoolmistresses. The former seemed to succeed rather well at first, but the success did not last. The teachers either never really assimilated the spirit of their vocation or lost it in a short time. Their fervor was like a straw fire which blazed up for a few minutes and then died down.[223]

In a letter of 24 november 1682 Barré, responding to a complaint of a Sister Anne Tientiuriers in Dijon regarding the lack of politeness (doux) of a Barré brother teacher towards her, pacified the sister by assuring her "that we will not tolerate in our institute any teachers, men or women, who are not in effect very polite (fort doux)."[224] From 1682 to 1684 the Barré brother teachers lived on the rue Mortellerie

in Paris.[225] They taught in the Saint Sulpice parish schools for boys and according to the design of Barré prepared teachers to teach in rural parish schools and to be auxiliaries to the pastors.[226] When DeLaSalle and the two teaching Brothers of the Christian Schools came to Saint Sulpice in 1688 to teach at the school on rue Princesse, the Barré brother teachers no longer existed. However, the people, remembering the Barré brothers and still seeing the girls' school in operation by the Sisters of St. Maur, often referred to the DeLaSalle brother teachers as the Barré brothers.[227]

The confusion between the Brothers of the Christian Schools and their vague predecessors became more widespread. For example, the oldest gravure of the costume of the Brothers of the Christian Schools is listed in The History of the Religious Orders by Helyot as that of the Brothers of the Christian and Charity Schools founded by Père Barré [sic].[228] When the biographer of Barré speaks of the spread of the Barré brothers throughout France, it is clearly a case of mistaken identity with the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[229] On the authority of Canon Blain, the same biographer maintains there was a strong dependency of DeLaSalle upon Barré in founding the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and he refers to them as co-founders.[230] However, Blain has been criticized for giving the wrong impression of Barré's influence upon DeLaSalle, as if Barré were "the true creator of the Brothers of the Christian Schools and DeLaSalle were the docile

implementer of the genial inspirer."[231] Recent research has established the distinct difference between Barré's work in teacher education and that of DeLaSalle.

> Barré wished to give to country parishes and to hospices teachers who were needed by the clergy for the Christian formation of children. He aimed at establishing seminaries of teachers capable of preparing parish missionaries recruited among the laity. He was in the line of Bourdoise, of Saint Nicholas of Chardonnet, and of Demia. DeLaSalle undertook something else. His objective was essentially school, not parish; urban, not rural.
>
> However, let us not say that DeLaSalle succeeded where Barre had failed, since the Brothers of the Christian Schools were not, as an institute, followers of the Barré Brothers. Let us simply say that DeLaSalle failed as much as Barré in his attempt to create seminaries for country schoolteachers.[232]

Adrien Nyel (1621-1687) was the econome general in charge of the instruction of the poor boys of the General Hospice in Rouen for over twenty years. He was guaranteed lifetime tenure in this position by a contract which refers to him as Brother Nyel.[233] In 1657 Nyel had been hired as a teacher for the poor children living in the Hospice. In 1666, with the financial backing of the Treasurer of France and the Poor Law Administrator of Rouen, he gathered around him six laymen to teach in the Hospice and in the four charity schools in the neighborhoods.[234] The teachers, called brothers, took private vows of celibacy, lived in the Hospice in obedience to the econome, but were not considered religious or clerics. They called each other brother according to the practice of the time among fellow craftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, pharmacists). They were laymen in the employ of the Hospice who made promises not to marry while they were employed as teachers.[235] The brother teachers of Nyel generously accepted the serious obligation of their teaching.

> He (Nyel) found some poor laymen who for the meager remuneration of fifty livres a year undertook to be at one and the same time teachers, sacristans, and infirmarians, under the direction of the Relief Office. They called themselves Brothers. Duty was the sole motive of their vocation, and without being bound by any vow, they generally remained faithful to it.[236]

As an example of fidelity, one brother teacher of Rouen is remarkable.

> Some teachers formed by Nyel and Barré remained faithful at their post until their last days. The apostolic flame which carried them to teach gratuitously without wages survived their founders. This was, in particular, the case of Brother Francis Levasseur, schoolteacher at Rouen, who lived without salary from 1667-1707. He was teaching in the parish of Saint Vivien when his old *formateur*, Adrien Nyel, died there on May 31, 1687. He was teaching there still in 1707 when the Bureau of the Poor of Rouen asked the Brothers of the Christian Schools to come to teach there. Then, the ancient disciple of Nyel and Barré transmitted to a teacher formed by DeLaSalle the secret of the pedagogical methods which he had fruitfully applied and perfected during forty years. Then he took a well merited retirement at the General Hospice. Unfortunately such stability was not frequent.[237]

Evidence of Nyel's teacher education of the brother teachers is based on the financial records of the Hospice and on personal associations tying Nyel with the similar work of Barré. Entries in the financial records show a variance of six to nine teaching brothers each year, although the number of classes taught remains constant. This would indicate a sort of "reserve or nursery for brothers" (*pépinière des frères*), to employ terms used by Demia and Barré, in which teachers would have been trained at the sides of those who taught under the direction of Nyel.[238] Barré, a contemporary with Nyel in Rouen, was probably instrumental in getting Nyel to form his group of teaching brothers.[239] The Sisters of Providence founded by Barré taught the poor girls of the Hospice. It was a member of Barré's Auxiliary (and a relative of DeLaSalle), Mme. Maillefer, who persuaded

and sponsored Nyel to take a leave of absence from the Hospice and to go to her hometown Reims for the purpose of establishing charity schools for boys.

When Nyel came to Reims in 1679, accompanied by his fourteen-year-old assistant teacher, he already had twenty-two years teaching experience.[240] After a chance meeting with DeLaSalle, arrangements were made through a group of ecclesiastical notables that Nyel should open charity schools associated with the parishes and not with the General Hospice as he did in Rouen.[241] DeLaSalle attributed the start of his career in primary education to this meeting with Nyel.[242] From 1679 until 1685 the names of DeLaSalle and Nyel were inextricably bound together. The personality of Nyel was an important factor in attracting and involving DeLaSalle in teacher education.[243] The early biographers of DeLaSalle have described Nyel as "unstable, like a bird of passage flying from one school to another, with no talent to direct men or a community."[244] However, Nyel's success in Rouen as teacher and administrator for so many years serves to weaken these negative judgments about him.

> Nyel had a gift for organization, and was a born teacher who could handle a crowd of children with ease. He was gifted with all those beautiful characteristics that can be found in a sincere layman who is fully Christian."[245]

In the partnership with DeLaSalle it was Nyel who promoted new schools, hired the teachers, and taught. A man on a mission, Nyel had an energetic plan for establishing free schools for which he successfully recruited teachers. By 1680 Nyel had staffed three schools in Reims with six teachers.

> The actions of these two gentlemen paralleled each other. Nyel is busy about opening new schools. DeLaSalle increasingly becomes involved in the education of the teachers recruited by Nyel.[246]

In 1682 Nyel left Reims against the advice of DeLaSalle to found schools in Rethel, Chateau Porcien, Guise, and Laon, his hometown. From that time the responsibility for the teachers' education and for the three schools in Reims fell to DeLaSalle while Nyel more or less directed the four schools outside Reims.[247]

> In a real sense, Nyel was the prime mover behind the foundation of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. According to Blain, Nyel "provided the occasion for the birth of the Institute." He was "the first instrument employed by Divine Providence to lay the foundation for what was to become the magnificent edifice known as the Christian Schools." He was "the one man in the world who rendered significant service" to DeLaSalle. Adrien Nyel was "a good friend, a good person and true, active and zealous, very devoted."[248]

Nyel has been called the first Christian Brother, although there is question whether Nyel attended the first General Chapter in 1684 which deliberated the life-style adopted by the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

> Whether he did or not, despite Guibert, it does not appear that Nyel took vows with the first Brothers. Good, zealous, generous, pious, Adrien Nyel was not attracted to the community religious life.[249]

When Nyel left in 1685 to return to Rouen to rejoin his brother teachers at the Hospice, there was no rupture. Far from it. DeLaSalle sent prepared brother teachers to staff Nyel's schools outside of Reims.[250] The separation of DeLaSalle and Nyel has been summarized by recent writers.

> After twenty-two years of fixed activity in the parish of Saint Vivien in Rouen, he had left from 1679-1685 for a long mission to which he gave an expansion which Mme. Maillefer had not foreseen. Now he returned to his Rouen Hospice. Three openings of schools

> in Reims, three others in nearby towns, is it necessary to see in these successive creations the sign of an uncontrolled activity? Certainly not! Nyel was aware of fulfilling a mission. His intrepid zeal drove him on. If he multiplied school openings, it was because he counted on the concurrence of DeLaSalle. He knew full well that he would not fail him in order to assure the life of his openings.
>
> It is remarkable to see this intrepid founder of schools after each successful opening cede the place to the disciples of DeLaSalle. It is no less remarkable to see DeLaSalle send him some young teachers whom he was not able to prepare sufficiently. (A complete departure from the norm DeLaSalle followed.) Without abandoning their formation for long, he confided them to Nyel, certain that he would make good teachers of them.
>
> When they separated, DeLaSalle was no longer the beneficed, well-to-do canon encountered six years before, to whom Nyel said farewell; but a simple priest, founder of a community of poor teachers vowed to the education of the common people.
>
> DeLaSalle who esteemed Nyel greatly, tried to have him stay, but Nyel, one last time, forced his hand. On October 26, 1685, according to Lucard and Rigault, April 26, 1685, according to a note in the archives, Nyel returned to the General Hospice in Rouen and resumed his position as superintendent of schools for the poor.[251]

Less than two years later, Adrien Nyel succumbed to a disease of the lungs.[252]

Conclusion

Seventeenth century France had a well-established school system except for the primary schooling of the very poor. Although the law required that the poor be accepted by the teaching masters, in practice the little schools did not draw them. The charity schools were taught, for the most part, by poorly qualified teachers, often only part-time. The Tridentine reformation mandated a new authority for the religious instruction and schooling of the poor: the parish priest. The reform seminaries of Saint Sulpice and Saint Nicholas du

Chardonnet stressed the importance of the catechetical instruction of the poor in the training of the upper-class and lower-class clergy. Jacques DeBathencourt, a priest teacher for eighteen years in Paris, wrote The Parish School, the guide to primary teacher education in seventeenth century France. However, too often the duties of the parish priest and the duties of school teacher proved to be in conflict.

Traditional congregations of religious women were limited in their involvement in primary instruction. The well-prepared nun teachers of the Ursulines and Visitandines were restricted by the rule of cloister to teaching in their convent boarding schools. The Sisters of Notre Dame, founded by Peter Fourier, established convent day schools and trained older girls to become teachers in the rural areas. The novitiates of these congregations provided a program of teacher education. The Sisters of Charity, founded by Vincent DePaul, broke the barrier of the cloister and sister teachers went out each day to teach the poor in neighborhood parish schools. Secular congregations multiplied rapidly and many of them started "normal schools" to train teachers for rural parish schools.

Charles Demia of Lyon formed a diocesan school organization under a school board wherein teachers were well screened and supervised. He started the seminary of St. Charles where seminarians taught in the primary schools for the poor for a few years as part of their preparation for the priesthood. Both Demia and Chennevières outlined plans for the education of men and women primary teachers in

special seminaries for teachers in every diocese of France. Neither plan was implemented. The few attempts at establishing communities of male primary schoolteachers were aborted, except for the successful but short-lived attempts by Nicholas Barré and Adrien Nyel.

However, by the third quarter of the seventeenth century the concept of teacher education as a necessity for the successful operation of primary schools in France had come to maturity. The climate was right for the improvement of schools through the education of better teachers. The reform initiated by the Council of Trent was reaching its effective fulfillment in a schoolteacher education movement. "It is evident that around DeLaSalle there were spirits welcoming the idea of such an undertaking, if they were not already filled with the desire to see it take shape."[253] The next chapter will study the efforts initiated by DeLaSalle for the education of primary schoolteachers for the poor.

CHAPTER II

THE TEACHER EDUCATION EFFORTS OF DELASALLE

Introduction

The history presented in Chapter Two is prefaced with three notes regarding DeLaSalle's biography, the biographical sources, and current research.

The point of departure for the organization of the history of DeLaSalle's efforts in teacher education is his threefold grand design for the reform of the Christian schools.[1] (1) Brother teachers, who received their teaching education in a novitiate and by means of in-service training, lived in community and taught the poor in the cities. DeLaSalle's efforts in the teaching education of the brother teachers resulted in the successful establishment of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. (2) Lay teachers, who received their teaching education in seminaries for teachers conducted by the brothers, lived as married or single laymen and taught in the rural parish schools as auxiliaries to the pastor. For thirty years DeLaSalle concerned himself about opening seminaries for the education of country schoolteachers. (3) Associate priests, who had a background in education similar to that of the brothers, were to serve as confessors in the schools, as chaplains in the novitiates and as

liturgical instructors in the seminaries for country schoolteachers. There was to be no official authoritative connection between the brother teachers, the lay teachers and the associate priests. Each group was to function independently. The association with priests never got beyond the planning stage, and, therefore, does not enter into the narrative.

The forty years of DeLaSalle's efforts in teacher education are divided into three time periods during which institutions of teacher education were located in three different cities: (1) Reims (1679-1688). The education of the brother teachers began in DeLaSalle's own home in 1680 and in the first community house on rue Neuve in 1682. In 1683 plans were negotiated for a seminary just outside of Reims for the education of the country schoolteachers, but it was not until 1685 that DeLaSalle established the first seminary for country schoolteachers on the property off rue Neuve. (2) Paris (1688-1707). The education of the brother teachers and of the country schoolteachers continued in Paris within the context of a community gathered around DeLaSalle amidst conflict with the established educational system. The first novitiate for the spiritual and pedagogical education of the brother teachers was opened at Vaugirard in 1691 and moved to Grand Maison in 1698. A seminary for the education of country schoolteachers was opened in the parish of St. Hippolyte in 1699, and another seminary was started in the suburb of St. Denis in 1708. Both seminaries for country schoolteachers were forced to close as the

result of lawsuits brought against DeLaSalle. To avoid further interference from the educational establishment, DeLaSalle moved to Rouen. (3) Rouen (1707-1719). In Rouen DeLaSalle's efforts at brother teacher education continued in the novitiate on the grounds of St. Yon which also housed an upper primary boarding school and a reform school. DeLaSalle did not attempt to establish another seminary for country schoolteachers. During his last years in Rouen DeLaSalle edited his pedagogical writings, particularly The Conduct of Schools.

Biographical Notes

DeLaSalle (1651-1719) was the firstborn of a wealthy middle-class family of Reims. His father was a judge. His mother came from the Moët champagne family.[2] DeLaSalle received his primary education at home, probably by tutor. At age ten he began his secondary studies at the Collège des Bons Enfants associated with the University of Reims, to which the DeLaSalle family had ties.[3] While he was still in college, DeLaSalle inherited from an uncle the lucrative position of canon at the Cathedral of Reims. However, DeLaSalle's vocation to the priesthood had nothing sociological about it: as the oldest of the family he should have followed in the position of his father. DeLaSalle studied for the priesthood at the seminary of St. Sulpice and at the Sorbonne in Paris until the death of his parents. Without neglecting his responsibilities as guardian to his three younger brothers and two younger sisters he continued his theological studies at the University of Reims. He was ordained a priest in 1678, and two

years later received his doctorate in theology.[4] At a time when the religious conflicts of Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Quietism divided members of the church in France from the church in Rome, DeLaSalle remained firmly loyal to orthodoxy and to the Pope.

DeLaSalle formed a partnership for education with Adrien Nyel which lasted six years and resulted in the foundation of seven parish schools. Over the opposition of family and friends DeLaSalle brought the uncouth and disorganized teachers hired by Nyel into his home so that he could work more effectively at their education. He became so involved with schools and with the education of the teachers that he no longer believed that he should remain a canon: "DeLaSalle regarded it [the canonry] as a function with very little usefulness to the church."[5] He distributed his personal wealth to the destitute during the famine of 1682 and lived with the teachers in economic insecurity. He organized the teachers into a community known as the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

DeLaSalle spent forty years improving primary education through the education of teachers. His efforts for educational reform were continually attacked by members of the educational and ecclesiastical establishment as intrusions of an outsider. On his deathbed he was deprived of his priestly faculties by the local ordinary because of his refusal to allow interference with school policy respecting the reputation of individual students.[6] However, he had the satisfaction of knowing that over one hundred brother teachers whom he had educated

were engaged in schools in twenty-two towns throughout the eastern half of France. DeLaSalle died at Rouen in the novitiate of St. Yon.

In 1900 the Catholic Church declared DeLaSalle a saint whose life was worthy of imitation. In 1950 he was proclaimed the patron of all teachers. There is no clearer re-affirmation of DeLaSalle's primary interest in the education of teachers than the opening sentence of the Rule of the Brothers of the Christian Schools drawn up according to the guidelines of Vatican Council II and approved at the Fortieth General Chapter of the Christian Brothers in 1976.

> With the intention of forming teachers animated by an apostolic spirit and dedicated totally to the instruction and Christian education of the children of the working-class and the poor, Saint John Baptist DeLaSalle founded the Institute of the Christian Schools.[7]

The primary sources on the life of DeLaSalle are the first three biographers: Bernard, Maillefer, and Blain. Brother Bernard was a twenty-three year old brother teacher at Grenoble who was assigned in 1720 to write the life of DeLaSalle. Bernard made strict use of the notes and memoirs collected from the brothers immediately after DeLaSalle's death, including a Memoir on the Beginnings written by DeLaSalle.

> I was first given a large number of memoirs which I read over and over again. What pleased me even more was a fairly long document written in M. DeLaSalle's own hand which discussed the beginnings and early progress of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. From it I have taken all of my material for Book II of my life.
>
> For the rest I have followed faithfully the notes given to me by a large number of persons. Most of them were eyewitnesses of what they wrote. They were so sincere in what they told me that I was fully assured that they said nothing but the truth. Their piety, merit and knowledge have placed them above all deception. Such was what I have believed to be my duty to tell you, dear reader.

> On my part I have added nothing but what was necessary to link up the matter supplied.[8]

Bernard was dissatisfied with his first written effort, and he began again in 1723. In the meantime he obtained more information about DeLaSalle from the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus in Reims and from priests at the seminaries of St. Sulpice and St. Nicholas du Chardonnet.[9] Bernard's completed work was sent to DeLaSalle's blood brother, Louis, so that he could check to see that there was nothing erroneous, contradictory, or embarrassing to the family. The editing must have been a sensitive task, because Bernard had spoken quite frankly of the troubles of the times (Jansenism), and Louis DeLaSalle was a confirmed appellant Jansenist.[10] The fate of Bernard's complete life of DeLaSalle is uncertain except that it was not published. A comparative reading of Blain and Maillefer reveals similarities which indicate that Bernard's life was available to the other two biographers. Eighty-six pages of the manuscript, covering the years 1651-1688, survived but awaited public attention for 250 years. The partial biography has been translated into English, but it has yet to be published. With luck continued research will lead to the discovery of the complete manuscript, one of the great treasures of educational biography.

The second biographer was Elie Maillefer, a Benedictine monk, librarian, and DeLaSalle's nephew. In 1723 Maillefer wrote a biography of DeLaSalle which he gave to the brothers for their private reading. Maillefer's manuscript is known as the Carbon copy, named after the priest who made the copy which is in the archives of the

Brothers of the Christian Schools in Rome. The brothers, without Maillefer's permission, gave the manuscript to Canon Blain to use in preparation of his biography.[11] In 1740 Maillefer, angry over the misuse of his manuscript, revised his work, making use in turn of Blain's research. Maillefer's second biography is named the Reims copy after the city where it is preserved in the municipal library.[12] The Reims manuscript was translated into English in 1963. Maillefer, a Jansenist, was very diplomatic about naming persons who opposed DeLaSalle "during the troubled times." He presents an attractive physical and moral portrait of DeLaSalle.

> He devoted his entire life to this task [instruction of youth], leaving to the Brothers and all others who knew him a reputation for zeal and for all other virtues appropriate to the ecclesiastical state. . . . His features, somewhat bronzed by his many travels, were serene, affable and obliging. His manners were simple but polite and without affectation. His mind was facile and penetrating. . . . He had a tender heart, generous and sincere. He was a bit above normal height, well proportioned and well formed. His complexion, delicate at first, became stronger with age. He carried his head inclined slightly forward. His forehead was large; his nose too was large and well formed but not aquiline. His blue eyes were lively. His hair, which was thick and blond in his youth, turned grey and white in his later years, giving him a venerable appearance. His voice was strong and distinct. He had a firm and intrepid disposition, taking his position only after reflection.[13]

Canon Blain was commissioned by the General Chapter of 1725 to write the definitive biography of DeLaSalle. All the notes of the brothers, the memoirs of DeLaSalle, the manuscripts of Bernard and the first biography of Maillefer were made available to him.[14] Blain's two volume work, published in 1733, was the first printed life of DeLaSalle, and for twenty-five years, was the only one. The biography was lengthy, but as early as 1740 there was an abridged version, Eloge

histoire. Most subsequent eighteenth century biographies of DeLaSalle were little more than further condensations of Blain.[15] The first English translation of volume one was the publication of book one in 1982, and book two in 1984. Blain remains an indispensable source of historical information about DeLaSalle. However, as a portrait of DeLaSalle, Blain's biography was considered unsatisfactory and disappointing to the brother teachers.

> He presented DeLaSalle as one of the great penitents of his age, practicing the most terrifying macerations.
>
> The Brothers showed themselves very critical of his work, and they forwarded their opinions to him. They made it quite clear that they did not like it. This is very significant when we consider that many of these Brothers had known [DeLaSalle] personally.[16]

Modern hagiographers are also critical of the one-dimensional portrait of DeLaSalle and his times given by all three of the first biographers.

> In varying degrees the style of the first three biographers is rambling and cumbersome, the genre conforms more to the traditions of hagiography than to critical history, controversial matters that were considered too sensitive for their times are glossed over or suppressed, there is exaggerated emphasis on those elements that would enhance the possibility of eventual canonization.[17]

However, critical reading reveals how each biographer attempts in his own way to situate DeLaSalle in the primary educational scene of seventeenth century France. Bernard recalls the educational efforts of Borromeo, Fourier, and Barré. Maillefer describes the state of religion and education in France after the "heresy and the cruel war." Blain describes the steps in the living tradition of elementary schooling.[18]

The research published during the last two decades in preparation for writing the definitive life of DeLaSalle constitutes a veritable Lasallian renaissance. There are two views identifying the origin of this renewal.[19] One sees its beginning in 1937 when George Rigault published the first volume of his nine volume historical study of DeLaSalle and the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, Histoire de l'institut des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes. The last volume of this monumental work was published in 1953. The other sees its origin in 1952 when Andre Rayez, S.J., published in Revue de mysticisme et ascéticisme the forty-five page article, "Etudes lasalliennes." In that article Rayez highlights the eclectic complexity of DeLaSalle's writings and challenges the brothers to search out and to identify the sources DeLaSalle used.

> The Saint took what he needed wherever he found it. He was surprisingly open to the spiritual influences, persons and books, that appeared on the scene at the end of the seventeenth century.[20]

The Rayez article remains the best guide for anyone who wishes to approach the writings of DeLaSalle.[21]

Whichever view is taken, the fact remains that since the 1950s the Lasallian bibliography has changed its character.[22] From a list of biographies and brochures, the bibliography has become a catalogue of critical studies, doctoral dissertations, and scholarly research. In the sixties and seventies scholarly articles appeared in Rivista LaSalliana, Bulletins des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes, LaSallian Digest, and Lasallianum. Rivista LaSalliana has updated the Lasallian bibliography every decade since 1950. The research published in the

1970s by Auguste, Sauvage, Aroz, Poutet, Pungier, Campos, Tronchot, and Salm is evidence "that for the first time in its history, perhaps, the Institute has personnel professionally trained to conduct critical research into its origins."[23] The monumental publication of Lasallian research has been the Cahiers lasalliens, a forty-eight volume collection of original documents with commentaries, critical editions, and scholarly studies centered on the life of DeLaSalle, his written works, and the origins of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The publication of Cahiers lasalliens has made the three biographies of DeLaSalle readily available for further research. Volumes 4, 6, 7 and 8 contain the manuscript copies or the first printed editions. Volume 9 contains a cumulative comparative index of places and persons. Volume 10 contains an analytical index of the content and a cumulative comparative index of the writings and sayings of DeLaSalle.

DeLaSalle's Home

The major source of information for the early biographers on the beginnings of DeLaSalle's work in teacher education was his Memoir on the Beginnings, covering the years 1679-1694. DeLaSalle kept the memoir hidden for twenty years. It was found, quite by accident, when DeLaSalle was away visiting the schools in the south of France.[24] Unfortunately the memoir was lost, but not before it had been quoted extensively by Bernard and Blain. The memoir describes DeLaSalle's reluctance to become associated with the teachers and involved in their education. DeLaSalle says that he had no pre-conceived ideas

about educational reform, that he was repelled by the social behavior of the first teachers, and that his involvement, more or less by chance, was a gradual process, the full implication of which he was not aware until later.

> The origin of my interest in schools for poor boys was due to two circumstances: my meeting with M. Nyel, and the proposal made to me by Mme. DeCroyeres. Before this, I had never given the matter a thought. Not that it had never been mentioned to me, for several friends of M. Roland had tried to inspire me with it. If I had ever thought that the interest I took in the masters out of pure charity would lead me to the necessity of having to live with them, I should have given it up. Those whom I was obliged at first to employ as teachers I ranked below my own valet, hence, the very thought of having to live with them would have been unbearable. I did, in fact, feel great repugnance at the beginning when I first got them to come to live with me, and this feeling lasted two years.[25]

While certain social reformers base their reforms on a philosophy, others follow the impulse to reform in a more pragmatic fashion. DeLaSalle belongs to the second category: "He lived more in the solutions than in the problems."[26] DeLaSalle's educational reform was not born of dreams or of abstract principles, biblical, theological, or pastoral. The point of departure for DeLaSalle's work in teacher education did not reside in the fact that he felt that he had to do something in the domain of popular education. Bernard is unequivocal on this subject.

> DeLaSalle did not think of founding popular schools. The proposition of founding one had not even entered his mind, and he had not the least thought of doing it.[27]

Practically all the initiatives for DeLaSalle's educational endeavors originated outside himself. For example, he assumed his role in the education of the teachers as a reaction to the hyperactivity of Nyel.

DeLaSalle established seminaries for country schoolteachers in response to requests from numerous pastors. In Rules I Have Imposed upon Myself, He lays down openness to outside influence as one of the principles of his life.

> I ought often to consider myself only as an instrument that is good for something only in the hands of the Worker. Thus I ought to await the orders of the Providence of God before acting.[28] I should not, however, let them pass by when they are known.

When DeLaSalle formed a partnership with Adrien Nyel, he did not realize the extent of his future involvement. "He thought he was only lending a hand. As he became more involved, his entire system revolted at the thought of the design he was putting into operation."[29] DeLaSalle was convinced that the management of the teachers, which he took upon himself, would only be that of an external benefactor obligated to nothing more than to visit them occasionally, to encourage them to apply themselves to their work, and to assure himself that they were well provided for.

> I had thought that the leadership of schools and teachers which I was accepting would be a leadership from outside that would commit me to nothing except providing for their sustenance and seeing to it that they carried out their duties with devotion and diligence.[30]

> God . . . wishing to engage me in the work of education, did it imperceptibly and gradually in such a way that one engagement led to another without having been foreseen by me in the beginning.

> If God, in showing me the good which the Institute would procure, had also made known the suffering and the cross which would have accompanied it, my courage would have failed me, and I would not have dared to touch it with the tip of my finger, much less to take charge of it.[31]

The plight of the new teachers, hired by Nyel but left behind when he departed to open more schools, was not enviable. As yet,

there was no novitiate or seminary for student teachers to test their commitment to the education of the poor, to acquire classroom management techniques, to learn personal relations skills, to reform faulty temperament and character traits, in a word, to receive their teacher education. Not well prepared for teaching, they were nevertheless assigned to teach classes numbering more than sixty boys. Most of the new teachers, learning from their mistakes, seem to have stumbled through. Two accounts, one written in 1733 and the other in 1950, describe the pathetic plight of these beginning teachers.

> After they had been initiated to the regulation of the house and after they had followed the réglements for several days, they were given responsibility for a class, to fulfill there a function for which they had little or no preparation. Each did as he was able, usually badly. It was not possible that they could succeed in a function so delicate. In trying to teach thus, without any rules or principles of conducting a class, they conducted the class haphazardly with much pain and fatigue for the teacher and with little learning for the student. From this situation resulted the ruin of the two important features of the Christian School, a method of instruction for the teacher and learning by the student. In order to teach well reading, writing, arithmetic, and Christian doctrine, it is necessary to know them perfectly. In order to have learned them perfectly, it would have been necessary to have learned them under good teachers in the interior of the house, which is what was lacking [italics mine]. To learn to teach is more difficult than one would think. It is necessary to have art, method, silence, gentleness mixed with gravity, tranquillity, a great patience, and especially prudence. This sort of science has its own rules and it is acquired by experience. Those who did not know the rules and who did not have enough time required to get the experience were scarcely able to succeed.[32]

> Thus it is clear that the position of the young teacher after Nyel's departure was not enviable. To be faced with this rabble from morning till night, within the confines of an ill-ventilated, unsuitable classroom, with none of the amenities which we now associate with a modern school, was a task calculated to daunt the stoutest heart. Even if the youth in question had been initiated in the art of keeping order, of interesting the children in some form of occupation, if he had previously had some teaching practice under favorable conditions and some chance of attaining self-confidence; in a word, if he had been given the most elementary

> notions of pedagogy, he might possibly have succeeded, at least for a few days, in quelling this riotous multitude. But without experience of any kind, and no one to back his authority, he was in a pitiable situation.[33]

Teachers, thrown on their own, were taking care of children likewise thrown on their own. Each teacher was following his own improvised method. Inexperience was leading to disorder. The children were learning little. The parents were beginning to complain. The teachers were growing disgusted. As early as Christmas 1679, DeLaSalle realized that the new schools were not producing all the fruit he had hoped for, because no uniform procedure was being followed in them. What was needed was to bring the teachers together as a team, to establish a daily routine, to find a leader to inspire them, and to find a decent place in which to live.[34] Immediately after Christmas DeLaSalle rented the Ruinart house near his own home, so that "living together they could share and mutually help one another by contributing to the most good instead of each one going his own way."[35] Then DeLaSalle gradually proceeded to take the teachers under his guidance. He gave them a daily time schedule. He advised them concerning their work in school. He gave them sympathetic encouragement.[36] He increased his contact with the teachers so that he could get to know them better.

Beginning on Easter 1680, DeLaSalle had the teachers take their meals at his home. He made the move for economic as well as pedagogical reasons. The expense of sending the meals over to the Ruinart house was eliminated, and his efforts at refining the uncouth manners

of the teachers were facilitated. Reading during the meals and conversation afterward provided DeLaSalle the opportunity to guide the teachers with practical pedagogical and spiritual reflections.[37] During Christmastide 1680, profiting from the absence of Nyel, he invited the teachers to spend the entire day in his house. As he observed the teachers up close during the daily exercises of prayer, the study of catechism, and the preparation of lessons, he became acutely aware of their failings and needs. The teachers were untrained. They still improvised their own methods. He noticed that some of them had only a superficial piety, a wavering commitment to teaching, and "base inclinations which come from a faulty education."[38] DeLaSalle discovered for himself the weaknesses which educational observers had vied with one another in attacking.

On 24 June 1681 DeLaSalle did not renew the lease on the Ruinart house, and the teachers moved in with him.[39] For the first time the association of these teachers might be described as a community.[40] The significance of this event has been understated in the literature: "We simply state that DeLaSalle inaugurated his work by offering to several poor teachers hospitality in his own home."[41] In reality DeLaSalle's hospitality was an action in line with the direction of seventeenth century educational reform to have teachers live in community.

> Because the apostolic action of [DeLaSalle] is profoundly inserted into the apostolic currents of his time, he is profoundly aware of the urgency of the reform of the Christian schools and of the conditions for the success of that project to which DePaul, Bérulle, and Bourdoise, in their time, had committed themselves; namely, to have the school teachers live in community.[42]

> The teachers in the charity schools were too often poorly chosen, completely unprepared, not dedicated to teaching the poor, and too inconstant in their efforts. All the analysts concluded to the necessity of establishing communities which a man could enter if he were convinced of a call from God, and in which he would dedicate himself selflessly to the education of the poor. These communities would have to provide the teachers with spiritual and professional education, to provide a mystique of the educational apostolate, and to give the individual the support of a common enthusiasm and mutual help.[43]

The typical seventeenth century classical man adhered to order and regularity in his daily personal schedule, in his work, in his leisure, and in his family life. DeLaSalle was such a seventeenth century man: "He could not live without order, he could not permit those under his care to live without a determined schedule."

> A uniform schedule was adopted for each hour of the day. The teachers practiced "modesty, humility, poverty, piety, and mutual charity," qualities which were needed to constitute "the foundation and basis of their state," in the words of Maillefer. Ascetical exercises were considered a prerequisite for the practical work of teaching in the classroom. DeLaSalle did not, however, impose anything by mere authority. From these early days he was content "to lead them by the hand, as it were, giving them a taste of the truth of what he was teaching them by his exhortations and even more by his example."[44]

He required that the teachers be assiduous to the daily schedule which he previously had given them but to which they had not been faithful. Initially the teachers must have regarded living in DeLaSalle's home as a social advance. They had not, however, counted on living in a community with a time schedule and with the expectation of helping one another professionally and of giving each other good example.[45] Within six months most of the original teachers departed. DeLaSalle dismissed some teachers who, though pious enough, did not have much aptitude for teaching and had been employed mostly out of necessity.

By the beginning of 1682 new recruits came who had spiritual motivation and a talent for teaching, as well as a disposition for living in community. They arrived "filled with good will, fortitude, fervor, and piety," and DeLaSalle "prepared new regulations, more measured and better thought out than the previous ones."[46] One author makes the clinical observation: "In this way the poorest specimens fell away, and of the others who came to take their places, only the best were able to accommodate themselves to this manner of life."[47] The teachers began to follow a set program of prayer and meditation, the study of the catechism, and preparation of lessons.[48] Already the key elements were present which were to become the main characteristics of this community of teachers.

> He [DeLaSalle] personally supervised the developing situation in his family home where the small community of pioneers had its center. Each morning and afternoon they set out for the schools of Saint Maurice and Saint Jacques and the one close by on the rue Sainte Marguerite. When they returned, they shared their experiences and discussed their successes and their mistakes. DeLaSalle listened and gave his advice. In this situation there were present in rough outline all the elements that were to characterize the organization to come: one central house and three outside centers or parish schools; one person as the uncontested leader and a specialized team of teachers who, for whatever they were lacking in professional training, were indisputably dedicated to the children of the poor.[49]

Who were the young men who came to be educated as brother teachers by DeLaSalle? What kind of men were they? Blain provides an insight into some of their background and character.

> There were among them some who had finished their studies, and some who abandoned their studies in order to join him in spite of their families and in spite of the importunate counsels of the worldly-wise who did their best to discourage them. . . . They renounced with courage any promotion to sacred orders and worldly aspirations in order that they should be able to stay in a profession as that of schoolteacher.[50]

The Catalogue des frères des écoles chrétiennes is the best source of information regarding the teacher candidates before 1725.[51] The Catalogue contains the following information for each brother: his name in the society, date of entry, family name, town, diocese and parish of origin, date of birth, vows made (1 yr., 3 yrs., perpetual), perseverance (left, sent away, place and date of death). The Catalogue was probably compiled in 1714, the year in which the brother teachers ordered DeLaSalle to come back from the south of France and reasserted their loyalty to him and to their association. The Catalogue contains the register of the living brothers, probably for administrative purposes, and the register of the deceased brothers for reasons of religious solidarity: "In reasserting and regrouping themselves in 1714 the brothers displayed a tender thought, remembering their deceased brothers."[52] The number of deaths of brother teachers under thirty years of age is high, an indication of the difficult working and living conditions for the primary teachers of the times.

> Of the fifteen first brothers that the Institute numbered in its birth in Reims, Rethel, Guise and Laon, that is from 1681-1688 when DeLaSalle went to establish schools in Paris, more than six died prematurely under thirty years of age, without counting those in poor health obliged to leave the Institute to obtain better health conditions. From 1688 until 1719, when DeLaSalle died, at least forty-five brothers had died and only eight or nine had been over thirty years old.[53]

The Catalogue mentions some humble details about the candidates and what they brought when they entered, which aid us in reconstructing the simple and poor life of the candidates for primary teaching in Reims and Paris.

> He brought with him a shirt (chemise). . . . He brought some small furnishings. . . . The soldiers had stolen his package. . . . He

> brought some shirts. . . . He brought seven or eight books. . . . He brought three old shirts and one new one. . . . There is no record of what he brought.[54]

Of the 228 brothers listed in the Catalogue only 199 have their ages given at the time of entry. The youngest candidate was 13 years old. The oldest was 47 years old. The median age was 22 years. The mean age was 23.7 years.[55] Based on the number of those entering and the number of those leaving between the years 1705-1725, sixty-one percent of the candidates remained as brother teachers for a lifetime.[56] Based on the number of those entering and those leaving between the years 1684-1776, forty-three percent remained for a lifetime of teaching.[57]

Ages of Brother Teachers
1684-1715

Ages in Years	Numbers
13 - 17	28
18 - 22	72
23 - 27	50
28 - 32	29
33 - 37	13
38 - 42	3
43 - 47	4

The occupations of the fathers of 159 brother teachers and 367 priests of the diocese of Reims in the eighteenth century have been identified. A comparative listing of the percentages in each occupation group indicates that the diocese of Reims recruited priests from among the sons of merchants, officers and farmers; whereas the Brothers of the Christian Schools welcomed the sons of unskilled laborers who apparently were not encouraged to enter the priesthood.[58]

Occupations of the Fathers of Brothers and Priests in the Diocese of Reims in the Eighteenth century

Occupation	Brothers	Priests
Nobles, merchants, officers, professionals:	22.6%	62.6%
Craftsmen, farmers:	44.5%	25.0%
Unskilled laborers:	25.9%	---

Community on Rue Neuve

On 24 June 1682 with the five or six brother teachers who remained with him, DeLaSalle rented the first community house on rue Neuve. The events of the next few years solidified the community of teachers. DeLaSalle gave up his canonry, for which he had lost all attraction, and distributed his personal wealth to the poor suffering from the famine of 1683-84. The reason for his decision was not an ascetical feat for its own sake. He had become aware that he could influence the brother teachers only if he was one of them, and his identification with the teachers was radical. He rooted himself socially and economically with them in the educational commitment.[59] At the same time he began to appreciate "the great riches that the teachers had under their rough exteriors."

> He came to have a high esteem for the type of men whom he had at one time regarded as inferior to his valet, and to appreciate the persons with whom he had chosen to live, at first out of charity but then out of personal attraction.[60]

Henceforth, all his decisions and actions concerned two objectives, the stability of the teachers and their cohesion.[61]

It was at Rue Neuve that the brother teachers decided to address one another as Brother, to name themselves as a community,

Brothers of the Christian Schools, and to wear a distinctive professional garment. The common agreement to substitute the title Brother for Master had a profound pedagogical significance for the teachers.

> It told them . . . that since they were to regard themselves as the older brothers of those who came to receive instruction from them, they must exercise this ministry of charity with a loving heart.[62]

In the eyes of the public the house on rue Neuve had been a kind of employment agency for teachers. Most applicants came looking for a job. This changed when the brother teachers agreed to wear a common mantle and a simple but distinctive black robe descending to mid-calf, different from the cassock of the clergy.

> Before the adoption of this costume, applicants came to this house much after the fashion of ordinary employees, without any intention of entering a community, but merely to train as schoolmasters. Many expected salaries and they thought that we ought to be grateful to them for having condescended to submit to our way of life. Since its adoption, however, there has never been on the part of those wishing to enter the community any other idea than that of staying here for good. Wages are not thought of, and it is esteemed an honour to be received among its members. The habit alone has made all this difference.[63]

To the chagrin of his family and the clergy of Reims, when a brother teacher left the community or was sick, DeLaSalle would wear the brother teacher's garment and teach his classes in one of the parish schools.

A process was established in the teaching community whereby the basic structures for decision making were put into place. Nothing was introduced by authority.

> DeLaSalle flattered the teachers by giving them the satisfaction of being themselves the creators of their own vision and their own plans for making it a reality. In this way they became, in effect, their own legislators.[64]

All the major decisions regarding the brother teachers' life-style were decided in assembly. "In a century when absolute power was the rule, such a procedure was close to being democratic." DeLaSalle trusted more in the inspiration of a searching community than he did in his own judgment.

> I do not say that he did nothing except in concert with the Brothers. But I do say - and have remarked on several occasions - that he did nothing without consulting them, thus making himself more their disciple than they were his. Their rules, their constitutions, their customs were their own work. The only thing peculiarly his own was that he inspired and that he knew how to suggest to them, give them credit, and lend them the authority that comes from experience. For the rest he left it up to them to examine, find fault, and reformulate. He gave the initial impulse but he did not supply the finishing touches. . . . At all the Assemblies of the Brothers he brought up all the affairs of the Institute for discussion; then, having made them aware of the issues by explaining the pros and cons with great simplicity, he reserved to himself only the right of determining what the majority view was; in so doing, he put his own views into the background as far as he could. When they forced him to give his opinion, he did so with such modesty and indifference that they could decide to take an opposing view and depart from his. . . . Apart from the Assemblies, which could be held only at certain intervals, he consulted the absent Brothers by letter on matters of some importance; in all others he consulted the Brothers who were on hand, even the simplest of them, for he believed that they were all more enlightened then he.[65]

By the beginning of 1683 the new personnel and re-organization constituted a Lasallian community of teachers. Personal commitment to the education of the poor constituted the teachers as members of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, not formal religious vows. DeLaSalle convinced the brothers to elect a superior from among themselves. It made no sense to him that a priest be the superior of a community of teachers. Brother Henry was elected, and DeLaSalle was among the first to pledge his obedience and support. To the local

clergy the situation in which a priest was subject to a layman of no background and social standing was intolerable. The archbishop invalidated the election, and DeLaSalle was again the superior.[66]

Since there was no novitiate as such, community living was the catalyst in the education of the brother teachers.

> In its beginning the seminary in which the Brothers of the Christian Schools are formed is not separated from the person of DeLaSalle. At Reims in 1681, then in Paris in 1688, the image of the novitiate is the community of teachers gathered around DeLaSalle.[67]

DeLaSalle was profoundly convinced of the importance of formative community as a support for a beginning teacher. DeLaSalle's community of teachers was open to the educational needs of the poor and at the same time deeply united within itself.[68] The teachers constituted a community at home and in school. The fraternal bonds of association encouraged the brother teachers to grow in spiritual values and in professional competence.[69] After the school day the brother teachers shared their experiences of what had or had not worked that day in class. Together they sought out better approaches. The community was a professional support and growth group. The experienced and talented teachers shared their knowledge and expertise with the young and inexperienced teachers. Pedagogical conferences were not conducted as lectures, but as discussions.

> This method [simultaneous classroom] has been prepared and put into order only after a great number of conferences between him [DeLaSalle] and the oldest and most capable teachers among the Brothers of the Institute, and after several years of experience. Nothing has been added that has not been thoroughly deliberated and well tested, and of which the advantages and disadvantages have not been weighed and, insofar as possible, the good and bad consequences have not been foreseen.[70]

Besides the community, the schools themselves were structured as a support system. A new teacher practiced as an assistant with a master teacher until judged ready to take his own class. The classrooms were contiguous, with connecting windows or doors so master teachers could be aware of a beginning teacher's progress or problems. The larger community of all the Christian schools was also a support system. If a new teacher had too many difficulties in class, he was readily changed to another school for a chance at a fresh start. The new candidates "who had talent for the schools, good will, determination, fervor, and piety" were put through a course of religious and professional training until they were deemed fit to be put in charge of a class.[71] At this time the teachers' education was more in-service than preparatory training. For most candidates a two- week orientation course by DeLaSalle had to suffice.[72] Apparently the new teachers who taught in Reims and who received school supervision and community support performed satisfactorily. However, the two-week orientation without follow-up supervision was not adequate for the teachers at Guise, who did not fare so well. Neglected by Nyel, who went on to establish a school at Laon, they were left to themselves, and in spite of their initial good will they slid back into negligences, and the local authorities complained to DeLaSalle.[73]

Rethel Negotiations

By 1683 the group of brother teachers associated with DeLaSalle had developed to such an extent that he was prepared to expand his

efforts. Canon Favart, acting for an "anonymous benefactor," offered to DeLaSalle the Queutelot house in Rethel as a school and seminary for country schoolteachers.

> To provide place to hold classes for the school, to house the teachers, and, if possible, [italics mine] to establish a seminary for country schoolteachers for the diocese of Reims.[74]

DeLaSalle agreed to the stipulations, and the proposal was notarized. By the terms of the contract the gift had for its principal purpose to stabilize and to perfect the outlying schools started by Nyel. The document was a confirmation of DeLaSalle's decision in 1682 to take complete charge of the brother teachers and the schools. DeLaSalle was confirming before a notary his decision to commit himself entirely to popular education by declaring that his teachers were able to direct a seminary for the education of country schoolteachers. This document remains as evidence of DeLaSalle's concern at this early date in the history of his Institute to provide lay teachers to the country schools as well as brother teachers to the city schools.[75] Both Blain and Bernard speak of DeLaSalle buying the Queutelot house to establish it as a seminary for teachers.[76] In speaking this way they are echoing a tradition which attributes the initiative in this project to DeLaSalle as the true father of the idea and the artisan of its realization. The house was not used for that purpose two years later, when the Duke of Mazarin offered to sponsor a seminary for country schoolteachers to be conducted by DeLaSalle. Thirty-five years later the brothers still lived and taught in the house, but there was no

seminary for teachers.[77] As far as we know the seminary for the country schoolteachers was never set up at Rethel.

However, there are three speculations that can be made about a form of teacher education that may have been conducted at Rethel.[78] (1) Judging from the small size of the Queutelot house only one or two additional student teachers could have been housed there. Therefore, the idea of a seminary for teachers envisaged by Favart was not that of a "modern normal school in embryo." Favart's idea was more likely based on the traditional concept of teacher education by apprenticeship. Apprenticeship teacher education was a direct application to teaching in the classroom by practice as an assistant under the direction of a master teacher. The practice teaching was completed outside the hours and days in the classroom by the counsel and appropriate instructions of the master teacher. The apprenticeship method of teacher education accommodated itself to a small number of student teachers who stayed at the school for an unspecified length of time. Under these conditions in one year several student teachers had the possibility of profiting by rotation (tour de rôle) from the competence of the master teacher. (2) Nicholas Vuyart, one of the most talented and prominent brother teachers on whom DeLaSalle later placed his great hopes for the education of country schoolteachers at the seminary for teachers in Paris, was the director of the school at Rethel from 1683-1699. The Paris assignment might well have been made on the basis of Vuyart's experience in teacher education at Rethel. However, if one is to believe that Vuyart educated

teachers during these years in Rethel, it could only have been in an episodic way. (3) Since life precedes institutions, it is very possible that some country schoolteachers were prepared for their functions by Brother Nicholas Vuyart at Rethel. Such a life situation would have been the reason why DeLaSalle continued to encourage his disciples in the education of country schoolteachers, when he wrote in The Rule:

> They shall allow to enter their classes any teacher who wishes to learn the method of teaching employed by the brothers, provided he has permission in writing from the Brother Director.[79]

However, it is hard to imagine that DeLaSalle thought it appropriate that a country schoolteacher candidate would be given a education lasting from six months to a year at a time when a brother teacher candidate went out to teach with a education lasting only a couple of weeks. The only thing which is certain is that DeLaSalle did not send any brother teacher to Rethel in 1683 to open a boarding house (internat) distinct from the school for student teachers.[80]

In 1683 the Duke of Mazarin sponsored a seminary in Rethel for women teachers of country schools.[81] The seminary was to exist for decades. Prior to opening the seminary for female teachers, Mazarin had sponsored scholarships for girls to board while they were studying at college, the classical method of preparation for teachers. The Duke wished to establish a similar seminary for male schoolteachers. To obtain men teachers, Mazarin could have gone to Servien de Montigney, who succeeded Nicholas Barré as superior of the Barré Brothers, and who was training brother teachers for hospices and

country parish schools. However, Mazarin preferred to have his own seminary for men teachers run by the brother teachers of DeLaSalle of Reims who were already teaching in three towns of the Duchy of Mazarin.

Seventeenth century French social commentators have described the Duke of Mazarin as erratic, bizarre, pious, and generous to his people.[82] These qualities accurately describe Mazarin's relations with DeLaSalle. Mazarin generously used his wealth, the wealth of Cardinal Mazarin inherited by the Duke's wife, in the promotion of education throughout his duchy of 296 parishes and small villages. A benefactor of the seminary of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, which prepared priest teachers for country parishes, Mazarin was especially active in procuring and in educating teachers. In 1682 Mazarin had written Instructions to the Caretakers of Each Parish of the Duchy of Mazarin which insists on the role of the man and woman teacher in each parish.

> You ought to have a man schoolteacher who is chosen by the pastor, paid by the community twelve months of the year, . . . who shall not punish the children except with the verge and the ferule, who shall teach the catechism and the Christian practices of manners, as well as reading, writing, leaving the care of the girls to the woman teacher. You should warn him not to let the children play in the gardens, the fields or the stables, but only in the public playgrounds. He should not let the children from seven years old to fourteen years old go to look at the animals. He should place them two by two in church, in order to be attentive to the holy sacrifice which he shall explain to them.[83]

DeLaSalle's negotiations with Mazarin are documented in three separate contracts regarding the establishment of a seminary in Rethel for country schoolteachers.[84] Mazarin noticed that the Queutelot house, which two years previously had been purchased for DeLaSalle for

the purpose of teacher education, was still available and that it could easily be made suitable for a seminary for teachers by an expansion with nearby buildings. The first contract of 20 August 1685 obliged DeLaSalle to supply two brother teachers and to obtain letters patent for the seminary, and it obliged Mazarin to guarantee 3,300 livres annually to pay for the board of seventeen student teachers.

> The said Duke of Mazarin funds in perpetuity, seventeen places in the said house to be filled by seventeen young men chosen by the said M. DeLaSalle as fitting subjects to be lodged, boarded, formed and instructed in the true maxims of Christian teaching, as also to read well, to write, and to sing in order to be able to fill these functions later, and to instruct the children in the villages and towns of the said Duchy.
>
> To this end, the said M. DeLaSalle shall take care to assign two intelligent and conscientious persons who shall be drawn from the community which is beginning to establish itself in Reims to instruct the young men in all the duties appropriate to the profession of school teaching.
>
> Wishing that these seventeen places always be filled, in case of vacancy by death or because the student teacher has been selected to go elsewhere, the place shall be filled immediately by another student chosen by DeLaSalle or his successor.
>
> This contract will have its full effect only with the agreement of the ecclesiastical superiors.[85]

The second contract of 22 September 1685, a month later, canceled the obligations of both parties in the first contract because Archbishop LeTellier of Reims refused to approve the project.[86] One interpretation of the Archbishop's refusal is that Mazarin's lands exceeded the boundaries of the diocese of Reims, and the Archbishop was not able to give permission for a seminary for teachers beyond his jurisdiction. Another interpretation is that DeLaSalle's agreement to take charge of Nyel's schools at Laon and Guise when Nyel definitely

decided to return to Rouen had changed DeLaSalle's situation vis-a-vis Archbishop LeTellier. In effect, DeLaSalle had agreed to educate in Reims schoolteachers for schools outside the diocese of Reims without the explicit accord or permission of the Archbishop. DeLaSalle had not yet left his diocese of origin, but he had ceased to be limited by it, and the Archbishop did not approve. A third interpretation is that the contract demonstrated, in the eyes of the Archbishop, an attempt at secularization or de-clericalization of the education of country schoolteachers. The contract had diminished the agreement of the diocesan superintendent of schools to a role secondary to that initiated by Mazarin and DeLaSalle.[87]

The third contract of 25 September 1685, three days later, endorsed a more modest and realistic proposal. The seminary for teachers was located in Laon outside the diocese of Reims and the jurisdiction of Archbishop LeTellier. DeLaSalle promised to provide an instructor for three student teachers and to apply for letters patent. Mazarin promised to provide 600 livres for their annual support and a house big enough to lodge six people.

> He [Mazarin] declared that he intended to procure for the parishes of the lands belonging to him in the diocese of Laon good schoolteachers who are able to teach the young the principles and maxims of the Christian life . . . The said DeLaSalle shall charge himself to form three young men in a house given by the Duke for this purpose near LaFere . . . The said community of Reims shall provide a superior for the said house.[88]

No apparent effort was made by Mazarin to rent a house, and nothing was done. Unless DeLaSalle had taken further initiative, the Mazarin

negotiation for a seminary for country schoolteachers, like the Favart negotiation, would have remained only a dream.[89]

The documents of negotiations with Mazarin give us clues about consequences for DeLaSalle's teacher education program at this time. First, the student teachers were to become capable of spreading into the villages "sound doctrine and Christian morals." This element should be seen in the historical context of the Huguenot opposition in the villages. Second, the student teachers were to learn the first principles of civil living. The importance of this element should also be seen in light of seventeenth century louisquatorzien emphasis on politeness and civilité. Third, the student teachers were to learn to read and to write, not well but perfectly. Fourth, the student teachers were to learn plainchant and parish liturgical functions. In this regard there was to be a radical change later in DeLaSalle's direction of the seminary for country schoolteachers. Before 1690 DeLaSalle made a strong appeal for some brother teachers to learn the chant so that they, in turn, could teach it to the country schoolteachers. After 1690 the chant and the church service aspects of the education of the country schoolteachers were to be taught by priests "associated" with the brothers. Fifth, the student teachers were to be instructed in the true maxims of Christian pedagogy. They were to learn the art of dealing with the characters of children, and this art was to be founded on practical experience and psychological understanding. Sixth, the student teachers were to know all the duties appropriate to the teaching profession. They were to realize

that education did not deal with exterior compliance or with notional assent but with interior motivation.[90]

Other consequences were provided for in the Mazarin negotiations. First, the function of country schoolteacher provided an alternative to the candidate who sought to become a brother teacher but came to realize that he had no disposition for community living. The Rules will permit these country schoolteachers to continue their training in the Christian Schools. Second, the continuity of the schools and the seminary was provided for in case DeLaSalle died. The contract called for the Lazarists, a missionary order founded by Vincent DePaul, to select a successor to head the seminary. DeLaSalle was acutely aware of the problem of continuity for the community of brother teachers, and he continued to urge the brothers, despite ecclesiastical opposition, to elect a superior from among themselves. The civil association which incorporated the Brothers of the Christian Schools provided that, if the followers of DeLaSalle were to give up teaching, the revenue of the sale of the houses was to be used to train women teachers for the purpose of keeping free schools for girls in those rural areas where the need was the greatest.[91] Third, the negotiations brought about the application of candidates too young to accept the responsibility for teaching. DeLaSalle accepted the young candidates, established them in a separate community, and extended the length of time for their appropriate education. Fourth, the funds given by Mazarin, but less than that agreed upon, continued to come to

DeLaSalle, and he used the funds to support the education of country schoolteachers.[92]

Seminary on Rue Neuve

The house on rue Neuve took on all the appearances of a complete educational organism. The house never was only a community house for the brother teachers. From its beginning it sheltered a seminary for country parish priests, and it was not until 1685 when the number of brother teacher candidates increased that the seminary for priests moved.[93] By that time Rue Neuve had grown to include a community for young candidates to become brother teachers, a seminary for country schoolteachers, and, very likely, a free day school. By 1687 the three communities numbered fifty persons. Each community functioned as a distinct but interrelated entity.[94] There was the community of twelve young boys which Blain called a well cultivated and very fertile seedbed for brother teachers. The community of brother teachers comprised eighteen dedicated non-clerics teaching in seven city schools with notable success. The seminary for country schoolteachers, which housed twenty-five to thirty student teachers, was a genuine normal school.

Whereas DeLaSalle and his disciples distinguished the three communities of brothers, postulants, and seminarians, Demia and Chennevieres would have counted them as one seminary or institute. In the eyes of the public authority, the Brothers of the Christian

Schools appeared, before all else, as a nursery for teachers (pépinière des maitres),

> who were qualified on the double plan of pedagogy and moral education from which the municipalities, the parish clergy, and the bishops were able to draw personnel necessary for the good operation of their free schools, and for the direction of their seminaries for country school teachers. Schools and the Institute of Brothers represented two distinct realities.[95]

The communities at Rue Neuve embodied the reality of DeLaSalle's grand design. In order to secure his teacher education efforts, from 1682-1688 DeLaSalle opened no new schools.[96] Very likely, the school of St. Stephen parish was moved to the rue Cambrai side of the property and was used as a practice teaching school for the teacher candidates. On the model of this school pedagogical policies would have been introduced and put into practice in the other schools.

> The personnel were of course renewed periodically with new and younger members; the teaching methods, while preserving their basic pattern, were adapted to the needs of the time and to the progressive trends in educational theory. The satisfaction of the parents was evident and often expressed. The high level of enrollment, completely voluntary, was proof of how effective were the means that Lasallian pedagogy made available to the teaching Brothers.[97]

In 1686 twelve boys from fourteen to sixteen years old, too young to be responsible for teaching a class, expressed the desire to become brother teachers. DeLaSalle accepted them into a separate community under the direction of one of the most experienced brothers. The young candidates wore the clothes they brought with them from home. Their only resemblances to the brothers were a rabat (seventeenth century collar) and a short haircut. Their way of life was an introduction to the life of a brother teacher appropriate to

their age level. Time was provided for them to learn how to read, to write, and to calculate perfectly. They devoted time to prayer and piety in keeping with their age. Their "juniorate" substituted in effect for a novitiate.[98] DeLaSalle looked after the community of the "juniors" by visiting them frequently and encouraging them in their studies. Unfortunately, shortly after DeLaSalle went to Paris in 1688 he sent for the "juniors" in order that they might continue their education under his direction. However, the pastor of St. Sulpice insisted, against the judgment of DeLaSalle, on using these young boys to serve the many morning masses which were said in this large parish as a major source of income. The boys became spoiled by the sacristan. Their attitudes changed for the worse towards their studies, and DeLaSalle sent them home.

Actually, more is known about the seminary for country schoolteachers at this time than about the community of the brother teachers or the community of the "juniors." When DeLaSalle wrote the Memoir on the Habit, explaining to the pastor of St. Sulpice the function of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, he began with their work of educating country schoolteachers: "They apply themselves to form country schoolteachers in a house called a seminary which is separate from the community house." With the funds provided by Mazarin DeLaSalle bought a small house adjoining the community house on rue Neuve to start the seminary for country schoolteachers. Up to this time DeLaSalle had refused the requests for teachers by several pastors of small parishes on the grounds that brother teachers only taught in association in

city schools, and they did not work as sacristans or auxiliaries in the parish.[99] Keeping within the parameters that he and Mazarin had worked out for a seminary for country schoolteachers, the pastors offered to supply teacher candidates from their parishes.

> The pastors found a compromise. This was to choose masters themselves for their parishes, and to send them to him to train them. He could not refuse this service. In this way he accepted up to twenty-five, who were set apart in the house, and he arranged suitable instruction for them. He provided a capable Brother, who taught them plainchant, writing, arithmetic and the method to be used in teaching the children who later would be placed under their charge. Thus DeLaSalle, without having foreseen it, found himself directing three communities all tending separately to the same goal.[100]

Thus the Mazarin foundation was realized outside the Duchy of Mazarin through the initiative and collaboration of rural pastors in response to a real educational need.

> Organized initially independently of public agencies and of ecclesiastical hierarchy, the seminary responded to the real needs of the rural population of the time in matters of education. Far from being proscribed, the collaboration of the civil and church powers were welcomed under the form of letters patent and episcopal agreement. But the origin of the seminary was not the desire to satisfy any laws of the state or of ecclesiastical authority. The call came from the children of the people and from those who knew experientially what was missing in their education.[101]

In October 1686 three student teachers moved in. Within a year DeLaSalle welcomed "other young men, sent by the pastors of rural parishes surrounding Reims, to be educated in teaching." The country schoolteacher candidates had their housing, oratory, meals, and recreation separate from the other communities, and their education was fashioned to the level of their maturity and to what they had to do in the future. All instruction, lodging, meals, and laundry were

free. The costs were paid for by the generous relatives, friends, and benefactors of DeLaSalle.[102] The country schoolteacher candidates wore the black or brown clothes which they brought from home. They also wore a rabat and they kept their hair cut short. They appeared exteriorly different from the brother teachers, but interiorly they were the same by reason of the similarity of their teacher education.[103] No doubt some of the candidates changed their plans at the end of their education and asked to join the community of the brother teachers, just as some of the candidates to the brothers left to become country schoolteachers. Upon completion of their education the student teachers returned to teach in their rural parishes with no obligation to the Institute of the brothers. The relations between the country schoolteachers formed at Rue Neuve and the brothers were always cordial. The country schoolteachers looked upon Rue Neuve as their alma mater and DeLaSalle as their spiritual father. Most of them returned to make an annual retreat for teachers.[104] The typical country schoolteacher educated at Rue Neuve has been described as follows:

> In the less important centers a unique teacher governed the boys. He was a brave man, a father to his own family, the chanter of the parish, a lay collaborator with the clergy, an excellent Christian, a skillful educator by means of an appropriate moral and technical formation from which he benefited.[105]

There are two problems regarding the seminary for country schoolteachers at Rue Neuve that should be clarified. The first has to do with the seminary's date of origin. The nineteenth century biographers of DeLaSalle cite the year 1684 as the origin. However,

their chronology leads to a contradiction because they also explain the refusal of Archbishop LeTellier on the grounds that the seminary for country schoolteachers in Rethel was without precedent in 1685! Based on the sequence of events listed by the first biographers, the more likely date for the seminary at Rue Neuve is 1687. Three times, in both manuscripts, Maillefer says that the seminary was opened in 1687. Blain says that DeLaSalle was thirty-six years old when the seminary opened: 1651 + 36 = 1687.[106] The question remains why the nineteenth century biographers antedated the opening of the seminary at Rue Neuve and postdated the plan for diocesan teacher seminaries of Chennevière. Rigault suggests that Lucard and Guibert (who copied Lucard) did so because they mistakenly dated from 1687 the normal school installed by DesRoches in 1787 in Brussels. They erred exactly by one century! "And that is why, no doubt, they held so firmly to the year 1684 for the opening of the seminary at Reims. They hoped to establish DeLaSalle as the pioneer."[107]

The second problem concerns the length of time spent in teacher education. In the Memoir on the Habit DeLaSalle speaks of the student teachers as staying in the seminary for country schoolteachers "for several years"(quelques années). "Those who are formed there remain several years until they are entirely formed as much to piety as to what concerns their employment." Maximin, who wrote a book to this effect, maintains that DeLaSalle meant exactly what he said about the "couple of years" because it took that long to obtain the desired kind of teacher.[108] However, a stay of "several years" by those in the

seminary for country schoolteachers seems to create two inconsistencies. (1) It contradicts the fact that DeLaSalle explained in 1688 to the pastor of St. Sulpice that he could form a qualified teacher in six months. (2) It discriminates between duration of the education given the country schoolteachers and that given the brother teachers. For most candidates becoming brother teachers the time of initial teacher education was measured in months. For some it was measured in weeks. Even the novitiate education of the brother teachers never lasted more than one year. Of course, the continuing support of the community of the brother teachers may have been considered sufficient compensation to warrant a shorter preparatory education. The candidates for country schoolteachers did not have a community for continuing support and, hence, may have required a longer education period. Of course it could be that DeLaSalle was thinking of the young candidates from fourteen to sixteen years of age when he spoke of their program lasting "several years."

> It was the young boys of less than sixteen years of age who employed their time in diverse studies until they were of age to teach. That is, for several years. Those among these young teenagers who did not wish to become Brothers were not rejected. They stayed and prepared to become country schoolteachers until they acquired the maturity requisite for their future profession.[109]

There is a lack of evidence in the research that the seminary program for country schoolteachers at Rue Neuve lasted several years, except for those younger than seventeen years of age. As a matter of fact the seminary for country schoolteachers was, more often than not, a community of teenagers than a community of adults.

In light of his concern for the education of the teachers, even to the point of refusing to send teachers to a school until they had received adequate preparation, it is appropriate that one author singles out for praise the work of DeLaSalle in teacher education.

> Ignorance, and often moral unfitness, was the general character of the teachers of that period. They often entered upon their duties without the least preparation. LaSalle had too great an anxiety for the good condition of his schools to accept improvised teachers. In 1685 he opened at Reims, under the name of Seminary for Schoolmasters, a real normal school, in which teachers were to be trained for the rural schools. Only Demia had preceded him in this work.
>
> The need of competent teachers led to the establishment of the teachers' seminary, the parent of the modern normal school. The two elements in this professional instruction seem to have been a knowledge of the subjects to be taught and of methods of organization and discipline.[110]

The criticism by the same author of the seventeenth century French primary education reform obviously could not apply to DeLaSalle.

> A proof of the multiplication of schools and so of the diffusion of the new educational spirit is the wretched quality of those who were allowed to teach. . . . There must be schools even if they are not good ones.[111]

Later in Paris, when DeLaSalle withdrew brothers from class to start a novitiate proper, he called upon the country schoolteachers whom he had educated in the seminary at Rue Neuve to take their places in class. The venture of the seminary for country schoolteachers was a total success, and DeLaSalle often found consolation in recalling it.

> In the eyes of a man who saw very far into the future, the seminary for country schoolteachers - normal school, to use modern vocabulary - was an essential part of a pedagogical system that worked; the immense effort needed to raise the educational level of the poor was not able to begin without this complement to the creation of the Institute of brother teachers.[112]

Unfortunately, after DeLaSalle left Reims for Paris, the seminary declined in enrollment. It appears that no provision had been made for recruiting new candidates. When the rural pastors had their teacher needs taken care of they lost interest. The seminary for country schoolteachers at Rue Neuve lasted until the school year 1690-91, but all his career DeLaSalle kept the desire to recommence this work.[113]

Vaugirard

For reasons concerning the health of the brother teachers DeLaSalle bought an old house out in a country place just outside of Paris, called Vaugirard. Here the brother teachers went during the summer vacation for relaxation, retreat, and further study. The brother teachers from Reims and the other towns also came to Vaugirard during the summer vacation for the annual retreat and for continuing their teacher education. At the end of the summer vacation of 1691 DeLaSalle kept at Vaugirard three young brother teachers whose spiritual and pedagogical education had been inadequate "owing to the circumstances of recent years" to begin a novitiate under his direction. It is significant to note that DeLaSalle replaced these three young brother teachers in class with teachers who had been formed in the seminary for country schoolteachers at Reims.[114]

An Augustinian priest and a neighbor to the novitiate at Vaugirard left a memoir covering the years 1693-1704 in which he gives his impression of DeLaSalle and the novitiate community.

> In 1693: Something very special happens in our vicinity at Vaugirard. There is assembled there a community of twenty men dressed in worn-out mantles which extend below their knees. They leave the house only in the morning when they modestly go two by two to church. . . They talk to no one. . . . People say that they eat only soup which one of them brings each day from Paris. This is what the common gossip says about this community. Since I have written the above I have learned that the superior, M. DeLaSalle, is from Reims. . . . The principal occupation of this virtuous ecclesiastic is to form schoolteachers. He used to live in the Saint Germain section [in St.Sulpice parish], but now he lives at Vaugirard. It is not true that he has been a Jesuit.
>
> In 1697: M. DeLaSalle has retired from Saint Germain in Paris where he established a charity school. He has rented a house at Vaugirard where he instructs young men to become schoolteachers. He teaches them to know reading, writing, and the catechism. . . . They drink only water.
>
> In 1700: He [DeLaSalle] has established in the St. Germain section two or three charity schools which a number of children attend. The schoolteachers are dressed in black with a mantle with flowing sleeves.
>
> In 1704: At the end of 1704 the writing masters of Paris complained to M. D'Argenson, the lieutenant of police, against the establishment [seminary for teachers at St. Hippolyte] of DeLaSalle and have obtained a sentence against him.[115]

For DeLaSalle formal religious profession was not a necessary condition for becoming a brother teacher. Some brother teachers lived in the congregation and taught a lifetime in the schools without making any final profession of vows.[116] The sine qua non for the teaching brotherhood was a personal commitment to the education of the poor. The candidates to the life of the brother teachers received the distinctive habit of the brother within weeks after entering the community house. Unlike most sister teachers, whose novitiate lasted almost three years, the brother teacher's novitiate education often did not last even a year. In the eyes of DeLaSalle the test which guaranteed the solidity of the desire to be a brother teacher was the

"exercise of the school."[117] DeLaSalle applied the young aspirant teachers to the work of the schools in order to test concretely the solid foundation of their vocation to teaching. There was no prescribed length of time for a period of teacher education. The education alternated between the novitiate and a teaching community for monthly periods which varied with each individual.

In Notes Relative to the Conduct of Some Novices (1723-24), a manuscript of private notes written at the end of each month by the director of novices on the progress and suitability of seven novices becoming brother teachers, there are entries which indicate a pattern of alternating two/three month periods in the novitiate and in the school.

> Nicholas DuPont has made three months of novitiate. Jacques Vital went to teach for July and August, returned to novitiate for September, went to teach in October. He made four months of novitiate. Francis Genard entered in April, went to teach in June. He passed two months in novitiate. Nicholas Languet entered in November, went to teach for March and April, was back in novitiate from May to July. William Bésançon entered in January, was still in novitiate in April. (unnamed) went to teach for July and August, returned to novitiate for September, went to teach in October. He made four months of novitiate. (unnamed) has no dates listed.[118]

At Vaugirard DeLaSalle inaugurated two practices which became important adjuncts to the teacher education program. He established the custom of monthly correspondence with every brother teacher, except those nearby, regarding progress in class, relations with the other brother teachers, and any other areas personal or professional. DeLaSalle carried on a lifetime correspondence with the brother teachers that totaled over ten thousand letters. Less than one

hundred of these letters exist today.[119] DeLaSalle also required all the brother teachers to attend an eight day retreat to renew their motivation and to deepen their insight into the meaning of their work. For each day of the retreat he composed meditations which later were published as Meditations for the Time of Retreat.

The pastor of St. Sulpice at this time was M. DeLaChétardye, an author and educator of incontestable virtue and renown. It was M. DeLaChétardye who had encouraged DeLaSalle to open a Sunday continuation school for working adolescents. For this Sunday school project, DeLaSalle spared no effort to have brother teachers trained in drawing and draftsmanship. The success of the Sunday School surpassed all expectations. Over two hundred students attended. There is little doubt, however, that DeLaChetardye wanted to monopolize the educational work of the brother teachers for his parish needs. In fact he tried to have DeLaSalle ousted as superior of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. He almost succeeded.[120]

The novitiate which DeLaSalle set up at Vaugirard became another source of tension and conflict with the pastor of St. Sulpice. The pastor saw the novitiate as a center of teacher education destined to prepare teachers for his parish or at most for the diocese of Paris. The pastor did not judge it opportune, therefore, to contribute to the development of a novitiate for teachers destined to serve all of France. The tension with the pastor increased when DeLaSalle sent brother teachers to staff schools in Troyes, Avignon, and Rouen.[121]

During the seven years that the novitiate was located at Vaugirard, four hundred candidates entered the teacher education program. Most, however, did not stay. Only one in ten weathered the poor living conditions, completed the program, and was assigned to teaching. Of the forty candidates who became brother teachers, "It was remarked that all but two came from well-to-do families and homes where they enjoyed every comfort."[122]

Grand Maison

In 1698 due to increased numbers DeLaSalle transferred the novitiate to a larger house, the Grand Maison. The increased numbers in teacher education plus the brother teachers from the schools closed due to lawsuits made it possible for DeLaSalle to send seven brother teachers to Chartres to teach in three parish schools. The Bishop of Chartres had requested brother teachers two years earlier, but DeLaSalle had asked him to wait "because he did not have brother teachers who were sufficiently formed."[123] Thirty-five to forty young men were housed at the Grand Maison "in order to receive an education unique to becoming a Christian teacher dedicated to teaching poor children in Paris as well as in the Provinces." It has been suggested that the numbers included novices for the city schools and student teachers for country schools.[124] Some historians maintain that DeLaSalle opened at the Grand Maison a school under the patronage of Saint Cassian, at which the student teachers practiced teaching (<u>école d'application</u>).

> Before long, a small school was opened on the property of the Grand Maison for the poor boys of the district, which served the double purpose of providing educational facilities for these children and an opportunity for the young brothers to try their hand at the difficult art of teaching.[125]

It was at Grand Maison that DeLaSalle assigned Brother John Jaquot as the first formateur of the new teachers and the first inspector of schools. Brother John, though only twenty-seven years of age, had been a brother teacher for ten years and was most qualified for this position. Brother John continued the teacher education in the same spirit started by DeLaSalle.

> Brother John inculcated the young teachers whom he formed with a practical pedagogy, in which the letter wisely remained open to the spirit of unity, union and uniformity, just as the pedagogical progress of the brother teachers had been amalgamated by the spirit of community.[126]

Brother John, no doubt, was one of the main contributors to The Conduct of Schools.

St. Hippolyte

In 1699 DeLaSalle had the opportunity to begin again a seminary for the education of country schoolteachers. The pastors of Saint Hippolyte and Saint Martin parishes in the Saint Marcel section of Paris offered to fund a free school and a seminary for teachers.

> DeLaSalle found no difficulty in speaking to the pastor about the plans he had formed sometime earlier of reopening the training school for country school masters. He had already attempted one foundation in Reims in the year 1687 which, as we have seen, started well enough but failed when he left that city for Paris in the hope of setting up a similar training school for country teachers. During the next fifteen years he had experienced so many reverses and so much opposition to the work he was doing that he never had the opportunity of reestablishing this school.
>
> The pastor of St. Hippolyte now seemed favorably disposed towards the idea. Together they planned how they might raise funds to support those who would come to the school. . . . When everything

> was ready, DeLaSalle received the young men sent to him by the pastors of country places. He placed in charge a well qualified Brother to teach them to read and write well; he also taught arithmetic, plainchant, and all that was required to make them successful in the profession of teaching.
>
> Together with their lessons, these candidates were obliged to follow a planned program of exercises which did not hinder them in their essential work of study but which would prepare them for the circumspect lives they would be expected to lead in the parishes in which they would find their work.[127]

DeLaSalle placed Nicholas Vuyart in charge of the seminary for teachers at St. Hippolyte. He had been one of the two brothers who made a vow with DeLaSalle to remain together in their cause for Christian education "even if they had to live on bread and water." He was one of the principal brothers who most merited this mark of esteem and confidence, and had been doing some successful teacher education at Rethel, where he was the director of the school. Since DeLaSalle had neither letters patent nor the approval of the archbishop for the St. Hippolyte seminary, he realized that the project was secure only as long as the pastor of St. Hippolyte was alive. Therefore, with the agreement of the pastor and the understanding of Vuyart, DeLaSalle named Vuyart the director of the seminary and the beneficiary of the estate promised to support the seminary.

DeLaSalle himself made a careful selection of the candidates sent by the pastors of rural parishes and the directors of the brothers' schools, accepting only those who showed sufficient aptitude and whose conduct was irreproachable.[128] Their education and manner of living were the same as they had been in Reims. The student teachers kept their hair cut short and wore a <u>rabat</u> and dark-colored clothing.

They received free room and board and laundry, as did those in the seminary in Reims. The only thing required of them was good will. The daily schedule was similar to that of the brother teachers. Rising was at 4:30 a.m. Retiring was at 9:00 p.m. Prayer, meditation, and spiritual reading, shared times with study, pedagogical conferences, and "activities suitable to the profession." Silence and recollection were observed as well as other practices of piety common to the brother teachers. The program of studies included catechism, reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, system of weights and measures, and plainchant.[129] Practice teaching was an integral part of the program. A free school "worthy of note" with two classes was annexed to the seminary and served as an <u>école d'application</u>.[130] Brother Gervais taught one class. The other class was taught by a student teacher under the watchful eye of Brother Nicholas. The student teachers took turns teaching.[131] It was for the purpose of assisting those responsible for training the student teachers, as well as the young brother teachers, that DeLaSalle composed the third part of <u>The Conduct of Schools</u>, which contains "the things which a new teacher must learn and the means of enabling him to do so." Here is an example of its sound advice:

> The first day the teacher enters the class he should endeavor to bear himself with an air of assurance and maintain a look of deliberation as if he were long experienced in teaching. He should speak as little as possible, preferably not at all, giving his direction by signs or through one of the pupils. If he gives an order and a pupil does not obey promptly, the boy must not be let off but must be constrained to do what he has been told and, if necessary, punished. But the new teacher must never select a small boy for punishment instead of a big boy; rather should he try to detect the leader in mischief and then administer exemplary correction. . . . The teacher's authority in the class should be

> unquestioned. Once this is established the master can be as kind and encouraging towards the pupils as possible.[132]

The seminary for country schoolteachers was recognized as a success. In 1700 the Sulpicians in Montreal, Canada, requested a good schoolteacher. DeLaSalle offered to furnish a teacher of quality, "provided he had six months to prepare him at St. Hippolyte." The community of priests at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet assured DeLaSalle of four scholarships to train teachers for their rural parish schools. When DeLaSalle foresaw that the request from Troyes for brother teachers involved a temporary need for only one teacher, he sent a teacher formed in the seminary of St. Hippolyte. Maillefer speaks of the seminary in biblical terms, calling it a tree producing excellent fruit: "(teachers) who are marvelous examples of piety and fidelity to the duties of their profession." Blain's description of the work of the seminary is a veritable hymn of praise[133] for the courses in writing and bookkeeping given in the regular program to the teachers and in Sunday school to adults and working adolescents.[134] The success of the seminary was also attested to by the pastor of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, who wrote to the Superior General of the Brothers upon the death of DeLaSalle:

> Myself and the whole province owe him an everlasting debt. In his charity he trained four young men as schoolmasters for me. They left his seminary for teachers so well formed that, had they found pastors capable of utilizing their good dispositions, they would have established a community most useful for the whole province.[135]

The success of the seminary became the cause of its downfall. The writing masters took offense at the success of this allegedly

unfair competition and obtained a court order to close the institution. DeLaSalle had no defense. By law the permission of the superintendent of schools was required to establish a seminary for teachers. DeLaSalle was persona non grata to the superintendent and to the pastors of St. Sulpice. No one came to his defense. In order to save the seminary and the adjoining school, the pastor of St. Hippolyte disassociated himself from DeLaSalle and the Brothers of the Christian Schools. So did Nicholas Vuyart![136] DeLaSalle was heartbroken. He was fined and lost any right to open a seminary for teachers in Paris. The major benefactor of the seminary for teachers withdrew his support because of DeLaSalle's defeat, and the seminary at St. Hippolyte closed in 1704 due to lack of funds. It had lasted five years. However, Vuyart, as a layman, continued to operate the primary school for twenty more years.

> To the historian of education it must remain a source of disappointment that DeLaSalle's inspired idea of providing a systematic training for secular teachers should thus for a second time have come to grief, after an initial period of success, owing to causes entirely beyond his control, and in this case owing to human considerations of a despicable kind.[137]

DeLaSalle continued to dream of educating all the poor. Seminaries for country schoolteachers were no less necessary than novitiates for brother teachers for the realization of his grand design. He suggested to those who continued to collaborate with him that they give their support to the lodging and boarding of student teachers for the country schools. The idea remained alive, and after the closing of the seminary at St. Hippolyte, DeLaSalle was able to keep aside some of the capital received from the Duke of Mazarin in

order one day to start another teacher education foundation. He waited for the right moment when he could again put it to work.[138]

St. Denis

The Abbé Clement, a wealthy twenty-two year old cleric and heir to his father's fortune, admired the educational work of DeLaSalle for the poor and in 1708 expressed his interest in supporting financially a similar work. After reading a copy of DeLaSalle's grand design, Clement enthusiastically committed himself in writing to sponsor for country schoolteachers a seminary located in St.Denis, a suburb outside Paris. At the same time Madame Poignant, a wealthy widow, offered to sponsor a free school to be annexed to the seminary. Upon Clement's written promise of future payment, DeLaSalle advanced the money needed to purchase the house, and the seminary at St. Denis opened with three student teachers in 1709.[139] It was a time of severe economic strain due to the loss of the wheat and fruit crops and setbacks on the war front, and the seminary was forced to close for a short time during this crisis. But it reopened and had such success that Mme. DeMaintenon publicly gave her backing to the seminary and obtained exemption for it from the obligation to lodge military troops in passage.[140]

The seminary for teachers in St. Denis was not operated in the same manner as the previous seminaries for country schoolteachers in Reims and in Paris. During the three years separating the seminaries of St. Hippolyte and St. Denis, DeLaSalle and the brother teachers had

taken a significantly stronger position within the organization of the Brothers of the Christian Schools regarding their lay character. "They were never to aspire to the ecclesiastical state," and the brother teachers acted to protect their position by eliminating any involvement with the chant or the liturgical services. Whereas, in 1687 DeLaSalle had prepared two brother teachers in plainchant in order to put them in charge of the seminary for country schoolteachers, and in 1690 he had declared in the Memoir on the Habit, "The students of our seminary are instructed to sing perfectly," in 1708 all such activities were forbidden to the brother teachers. There are two other bits of evidence that the brother teachers at this time strengthened their identity as laymen and not clerics. The manuscript copy of the 1706 edition of The Conduct of Schools has a page entitled "Chapitre Dix, Des Cantiques," which presumably was to include the chant. But the page is blank. The printed edition of 1720 does not include the chapter heading! It should be noted that, as the brother teachers broke with clerical studies, their professional work developed in other ways more useful to the poor children of the city: arithmetic, drawing, bookkeeping. The new stance of DeLaSalle and the brother teachers affected the operation of the seminary of St.Denis as well. The brothers did not teach the plainchant or give instructions for the parish liturgical services, and DeLaSalle did not assume the responsibility for the entire operation of the seminary.[141]

DeLaSalle collaborated with Father Poullart DesPlaces, founder of the Fathers of the Holy Spirit, to outline an association with the

Brothers of the Christian Schools wherein the fathers would be confessors in the Christian Schools, chaplains in the novitiate for the brother teachers, and teachers of Latin, liturgy, and chant in the seminary for the country schoolteachers.[142] This association with priests, which functioned only for a brief period, explains why there was more emphasis on liturgy in the teacher education program at St. Denis.

> The courses which were organized resembled those of the previous training colleges of Rue Neuve and St. Hippolyte, but rather more attention was given to singing and plainchant. On Sundays the pupil teachers assisted in cassock and cotta at the church services just as they would be expected to do later on as country schoolmasters, and they sang in the choir.[143]

The association of the Brothers of the Christian Schools with an order of priests is outlined in a manuscript, handwritten in 1707 by Brother Anthony, DeLaSalle's secretary, and kept in the archives of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, as Document 103: A Plan for Seminaries for Country Schoolteachers. Document 103 is also referred to as the Memoir on the Goals of the Institute in the Reform of the Christian Schools.[144] It is reminiscent of Avis Important by Charles Demia and the plan for diocesan seminaries for teachers by Chenneviere. It is probably the copy of the grand design which DeLaSalle gave to Abbé Clement and which motivated Clement to sponsor the seminary at St. Denis.

The first paragraphs of the document speak about "houses for the brother teachers living in common and conducting free schools only in the cities and particularly for the poor." Each house is to number at least five brother teachers: four brother teachers, of whom one is

the director, and one brother who takes care of the temporal needs and substitutes in class for a sick teacher. "There are twenty of these houses which are located for the most part in the bigger cities."[145] DeLaSalle's fundamental condition in all negotiations for staffing a new school was that eventually there would be a community solidly structured with five brother teachers. The beginnings of a school opening might involve as few as two brother teachers, but there had to be the real possibility of the future expansion to five. DeLaSalle arrived at the working number of five after several unfortunate experiences. DeLaSalle alluded to this when he objected to the Bishop of Chartres, who wanted to send the brother teachers into the surrounding villages to teach.

> It is a question of schools for only two teachers, which would not suit us, I do not want any such. It would be the ruin of our Society.[146]

Sometimes if the negotiation was for only three brother teachers, DeLaSalle would "throw in another one free." For example, he sent to Ales a fourth brother teacher for whom there was no class and, hence, the community did not receive a salary. However, the extra brother substituted in class, prepared supper, and, in general, helped prepare programs to keep things on a high level for the Huguenots.[147]

DeLaSalle never intended that the brother teachers should teach all the Christian schools in all the cities of France. Competition took place between different kinds of schools. However, DeLaSalle did have a constant wish: that the brothers would teach all the free primary schools in the same town.[148] As to the former teachers in

these schools, where would they go? If they were deacons or priests, they were needed in the priestly ministry. If they were laymen, they were needed in the country parish schools.

The rest of Document 103 puts forward two other projects: one for seminaries for country schoolteachers and the other for an association with a society of priests who would have the external direction of the seminaries.

> From this memoir, the only project of reform of the Christian schools, one is able to obtain an idea of the truly ambitious plan formed by DeLaSalle, prior to 1708, encompassing not only the principal cities, but also the small towns and villages. In these villages the schools were to benefit from teachers formed in funded seminaries the internal direction of which was to be assured by the brothers, and the external direction by priests eventually formed by a community not part of the Institute of the Brothers but formed according to the same spirit as that of the Brothers.[149]

A paraphrase of the project for the seminary for country schoolteachers is as follows. Each principal diocese is to have a seminary to prepare country schoolteachers to teach alone or in pairs in the smallest towns or villages. The teachers are taught a piety conformed to the employment to which they are destined; the ceremonies which are to be performed in the administration of the sacraments; the plainchant; the catechism and how to teach it; reading and writing perfectly; a method of conducting school well. To execute the project it was necessary that each bishop publish an ordinance declaring that those who wish to be country schoolteachers are obliged to spend a certain length of time in the seminary before exercising their employment; that no one will be hired as a country schoolteacher who

does not have a letter of recommendation from the bishop or his representative; that no schoolteacher will be given a letter of recommendation who has not remained for a certain length of time in the seminary and who does not have an attestation from the brother director of the seminary.

Meanwhile, at the seminary at St. Denis, the young Abbe Clement defaulted on his financial commitment, and his father brought legal action against DeLaSalle on charges of suborning a minor. Rogiers, the priest and friend of DeLaSalle who had negotiated the contract, was bribed, and perjured himself. The litigation was another bitter suit, and DeLaSalle, referred to as the "so-called" superior of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, was found guilty and fined on all counts. The seminary for country schoolteachers at St. Denis was closed in 1712. It had lasted three years. The annex school, however, survived the litigation and remained open until the Revolution.

> DeLaSalle abandoned the project of a seminary for country schoolteachers following the heartbreaks encountered at St. Denis: "It was thus that he abandoned this undertaking for the third time, resolved to leave it to others in whom God would inspire the plan."[150]

The history of DeLaSalle's efforts for the education of country schoolteachers had its epilogue in 1718. Claude Gosse, pastor of St. Martin in Noyon, who had learned of DeLaSalle's work in the course of his stay at St. Sulpice from 1709-1711, asked DeLaSalle for brother teachers for his parish. As DeLaSalle had no brother teachers available, he sent a teacher educated in the seminary for country schoolteachers at St. Denis.[151]

Marseilles

Discouraged at the closure of the seminaries for country schoolteachers and convinced that he was the source of all the troubles for the brother teachers in Paris, DeLaSalle left the scene of the conflict. He went to visit the schools in the south of France and to open a novitiate in Marseilles. Here would be prepared local brother teachers, who would be more effective, for it was difficult for teachers from the north to adjust to the Provencal language and culture. DeLaSalle agreed with the principle of regionalism, of making adjustments to legitimate local needs. In July 1712 he wrote from Marseilles to Brother Gabriel Drolin in Rome:

> It will be difficult for me to send you another brother before I have opened a novitiate in this region, which, in fact, I intend to do immediately, for they require subjects from this part of the country, owing to the difference of dialect with the rest of France.[152]

The pastors in the area enthusiastically recruited candidates to become brother teachers, and the novitiate at Marseilles became a flourishing regional teacher education center. However, the bishop and the clergy had expectations of a novitiate more along the lines of the seminary described in Avis Important by Charles Demia. The diocesan clergy expected a diocesan center for teacher education over which the bishop had the right to the placement of the teachers.[153] However, DeLaSalle had no intention that the Brothers of the Christian Schools should be a federation of diocesan centers independently governed by the local ordinary.

In this atmosphere of tension a relatively minor incident involving the novitiate occurred, which caused a major problem. DeLaSalle had invited the two brother teachers of the nearby parish school to live in the novitiate, intending that their example and experience would encourage the young men in formation. The two brother teachers, however, did not like the idea of spending their time with the young candidates, and they complained, not to DeLaSalle but to the pastor. The clergy and the bishop sided with the two brother teachers, and the incident grew into a highly emotional argument involving federation, Jansenism, and accusations that DeLaSalle's teacher education was too hard on the young candidates. The novitiate program turned into a shambles due to the undermining attacks of the clergy. Some of the brother teachers became resentful of DeLaSalle's presence. In order to restore peace he appointed as director of novices, Brother Timothy, who later became the second superior general of the brothers. DeLaSalle then left the region.[154]

St. Yon

In 1705 DeLaSalle, sued in Paris by the teacher unions and the superintendent of schools, and unaided by the pastor of St. Sulpice, withdrew the brother teachers from the parish school and moved to Rouen with them and six novices. In a rented house on an extensive piece of property named after St. Yon, DeLaSalle established a novitiate. Within four years thirty-two candidates had applied.[155] During an inspection of the property by the civil authorities,

DeLaSalle spoke about the novitiate program: "The novices are occupied with exercises of piety, imbibing the spirit of their teaching vocation, and the practice of those virtues which are proper to their state."

In 1706, at the request of the local middle class, DeLaSalle opened on the property at St. Yon an upper primary boarding school (pensionnat des frères), which offered a different kind of secondary education for boys of the bourgeoisie who did not intend to go to a college but needed further education. The program offered not only reading, writing, and arithmetic, but also draftsmanship, geometry, and architecture. The curriculum gradually evolved into a comprehensive syllabus: "Everything a young man can learn, with the exception of Latin: commerce, banking, military science, architecture and mathematics."[156] In a letter to Brother Thomas, DeLaSalle revealed that an important motive for establishing the boarding school had been to supply the funds needed to support the novitiate teacher education program.

DeLaSalle also started a reform school (pension de correction) at St. Yon for delinquent boys, who were placed there at the request of their parents.

> The public authorities, convinced of the talent which the brothers had for instructing boys, notified families afflicted with disobedient, delinquent sons about obtaining a place of correction for them at St.Yon. They promised them that they would find their sons changed on leaving St.Yon. Many parents wished to try it and confided to the brothers, more skillful than they, the reformation of their sons. The pension de correction was soon filled.[157]

The twenty-five years of accumulated pedagogical experience and wisdom of DeLaSalle and the brother teachers were tested against the needs of delinquent and disturbed boys.[158] Only brother teachers of proven successful experience were assigned to the reform school. As much as possible the work of corrective education was done by mainstreaming with the boarding school. Instead of isolating the delinquents the brothers multiplied their human contacts and increased their activities with sports, games and music. They were kept busy with a variety of lessons, manual labor, religious exercises, recreation. On their best behavior, the delinquents ate with the brothers and attended classes in the boarding school. It can be assumed that the pedagogical principles and methods described in The Conduct of Schools accounted for the success in educating the maladjusted (inadaptée).[159] The reform school at St. Yon challenges us to understand how the brother teachers applied to corrective education (orthopédagogie) the pedagogical principles of The Conduct of Schools. The teacher education program which functioned so well for the education of the poor boys of the city and was duplicated so well in the education of the country schoolteachers also functioned successfully in the corrective education of the delinquent boys at St. Yon. Apparently the education of the brother teachers, which imparted methods of teaching particularly adapted to the education of children from an economically deprived milieu, also proved effective in dealing with wealthy children handicapped by emotional or social disturbances.[160]

DeLaSalle staffed the local parish school which also served as an école d'application for practice teaching.[161] In the evenings the young brother teachers created an academy for themselves and sharpened their knowledge of subject matter by questioning and debates similar to the disputations held in the universities. There was a variety and wealth of teaching experience available to the young brother teachers at St. Yon: the upper primary boarding school for middle class boys, the reform school for delinquent boys, the community of experienced brother teachers who ran these institutions. The young brother teachers received invaluable teaching experience when they helped out in these institutions and when they attended the conferences of the experienced teachers. They were involved in the process by which the brother teachers improved their teaching methods and created new methods from their shared experiences. They were encouraged to seek better methods of teaching within the testing ground of experience and community sharing.

There is no evidence that DeLaSalle made further efforts to educate country schoolteachers, but in 1733 Blain says that the Brothers thought about means of establishing a seminary for country schoolteachers at St. Yon.[162]

Conclusion

DeLaSalle's career in education was a continuous sequence of events centered on the education of teachers, as his memoirs and his first biographers show. His favorite residence was in the novitiate

with the teacher candidates. The picture of LaSallian teacher education is that of a community gathered around DeLaSalle. The grand design drawn up by DeLaSalle for the reform of primary education called for the education of brother teachers who lived in community and taught in city schools. DeLaSalle's education of the brother teachers began in his home in Reims and continued in the first community house on rue Neuve. The Rue Neuve community merits consideration as one of the exciting educational centers in the history of primary teacher education. There three distinct communities of teachers and teacher candidates actively engaged in teacher education. At Vaugirard outside Paris DeLaSalle established teacher education in a novitiate program lasting up to a year. When DeLaSalle moved the novitiate to Grand Maison, he extended teacher education into the communities and schools by appointing a formateur of new teachers and an inspector of schools. At St. Yon in Rouen DeLaSalle enriched the novitiate teacher education program by keeping it involved with innovative programs in upper primary education and corrective education.

DeLaSalle's grand design was not biased in favor of city schools and the brother teachers. The design also called for the education of lay teachers to teach alone in rural parish schools. For thirty years DeLaSalle kept this phase of the grand design close to his heart. DeLaSalle resolved two years of planning with Favart and Mazarin by setting up a seminary for country schoolteachers at Rue

Neuve, which lasted five years. In response to the requests of village pastors DeLaSalle opened a similar seminary in Paris at St. Hippolyte, which lasted five years. Banned by court order from further teacher education efforts in Paris, DeLaSalle opened another seminary for country schoolteachers in St. Denis outside Paris, which lasted three years. DeLaSalle encouraged the brother teachers to welcome country schoolteachers into their schools to learn their method of teaching.

DeLaSalle's grand design for the reform of primary schools through teacher education was not, unfortunately, well received by all in the educational establishment. Some educational authorities and some close associates of DeLaSalle tried to change the grand design for their own interests. Witness: the lawsuits of the writing masters and the superintendent of schools of Paris, the vested interest of the pastor of St. Sulpice and the betrayal of Brother Nicholas Vuyart, the lawsuit of the Clements and the perjury of Father Rogiers. If the report card on DeLaSalle's efforts at teacher education indicates only partial success, it must be due to the external historical causes that were beyond his control.

DeLaSalle realized his grand design for the individual teacher by creating specific activities and aids which helped to educate good teachers. A partial list would include: community living based on mutual professional support; a daily schedule with specific times for reading and lesson preparation; a study hall (chambre des exercices) for preparing lessons and receiving help from other teachers; a weekly

interview with the director of the school; an *école d'application* for practice teaching; a *formateur* to help new teachers; an inspector of schools for in-service teacher supervision; an annual retreat with special pedagogical reflections for teachers; an apprenticeship teaching under a master teacher; a school structured as a support system; model lessons (*les exercices de catéchèse*) given for criticism by fellow teachers; a novitiate experience to examine professional motivation. The next chapter will consider the rationale and composition of DeLaSalle's teacher education as articulated in *The Conduct of Schools*.

CHAPTER III

PART THREE OF THE CONDUCT: ADMINISTRATION AND PRINCIPLES OF TEACHER EDUCATION

Introduction

In Democracy and Education John Dewey designates the trinity of topics for teachers as subject matter, methods, and administration.[1] DeLaSalle organizes his teacher education program in The Conduct of Schools according to the same tripart structure. Part One deals with classroom management and subject matter: "What is taught in school all day." Part Two deals with methods for making school a human community: "The means of obtaining order and discipline." Part Three deals with the administration of teacher formation: "The rules of the formateur of new teachers and of the inspector of schools." Chapter Three of this dissertation studies Part Three. It is divided into four sections. The first section presents background for understanding the origin, composition, and subsequent history of The Conduct. The second section studies the list of twelve virtues of a good teacher and the function of the teacher education team: formateur, inspector of schools, and director of novices. The study concludes that The Conduct is an incomplete guide to DeLaSalle's teacher education and needs to be complemented by The Meditations for

the Time of Retreat.[2] The third section studies The Meditations for the ends of education they describe; for the conversion affecting student-teacher relations to which they call the teacher; for the esteem of the profession which they inspire. The fourth section articulates seven pedagogical principles which characterize DeLaSalle's education of teachers: integration, specialization, association, profession (vocation), mission, conversion (spirituality), and supervision (apprenticeship).

Origins of The Conduct

The Conduct is not a how-to-do-it manual, the strict application of which guarantees success in teaching. It is not a recipe to be followed in cookbook fashion to produce good schools. It is not a policy handbook, a compilation of directives on school management. It is not a theoretical treatise on educational psychology in which one finds educational insights to be applied without update. The Conduct is an educational classic compiled from the classroom experience of teachers and written as a practical pedagogical guide in the education of teachers. It should be appreciated as an educational classic that reflects what was once true and beautiful and good in education, which, in its day, changed primary teaching in France. The Conduct, though in some ways out of date, gives the complex impression of being yet disturbingly new. It needs to be read for its pedagogical principles with a respectful criticism (une certaine défiance

respecteuse): to accept some (Christian education, teaching fundamentals, lesson preparation); to temper some (silence and order with initiative and spontaneity, reserve and politeness with friendliness and openness); to develop and apply others (personal knowledge of students, individual instruction, practical instruction for life, student participation).[3]

The Conduct is a practical book intended to be an instrument in the education of teachers and a help to new teachers in the classroom:

> Prior to the first printed edition, all the Brothers were required to make written copies of The Conduct and to study it during their period of training. No one was to appear before a class of youngsters without having mastered the principles and techniques of simultaneous teaching.[4]

A beginning teacher made his own manuscript copy as a vademecum to be read and reread. The Conduct was also read aloud in its entirety twice a year during meals.

> They shall begin reading the Rules of the School on the first day they return to school after summer vacation and on the day after Easter. They shall take turns reading aloud the first two parts from beginning to end.[5]

It never was intended that The Conduct have a fixed final form. The principles being safeguarded, The Conduct was open to incorporate better, proven methods of teaching. DeLaSalle's warnings on the dangers of changes in the school and in the community were his objections to changes "imposed from outside."[6] Although The Conduct was given approval for publication in 1705, it was not printed until 1720. The book's history of updating demonstrates that it was meant to be a book in process. In this regard The Conduct is like a lighthouse, not a boundary.

The Rule of 1705 and that of 1718 refer to the Rules of the School, but The Rule of 1726 refers again to The Conduct. Blain in 1730 referred to the book as a "kind of rule."[7] However, the brother teachers never considered The Conduct binding as a rule (règle). The preface to the manuscript of 1706 explains the reason: a rule must be accessible to all, but some practices "which are only for the better teachers, are not all able to be observed easily by beginning teachers and by those with little talent for teaching." The edition of 1720 removed this paragraph because the competency of the teachers was such that it no longer applied. The earliest edition describes The Conduct as "a gift from God through the efforts of the first brother teachers," which is to be followed as a guide (règlement), not as a rule (règle).

DeLaSalle formed good schools by means of the education of good teachers in the same sense in which Pius XI spoke of good schools:

> Good schools are achieved not so much through good administration as through the influence of good teachers, who, admirably prepared and trained, each in his own discipline, and endowed with the intellectual and moral qualifications required by their mission, are fired with a love for the young people entrusted to them.[8]

DeLaSalle was not the founder of Christian schools. His goal was the reform of the Christian school. The keystone of DeLaSalle's reform was the teacher. He realized clearly and pursued consistently the principle that a system of education is as good as its teachers. "It is necessary to give him credit for having conceived that a new kind

of teacher was necessary to renew the schools."[9] The authentic contribution of DeLaSalle to education was the brother teacher and The Conduct which educated this new kind of teacher.

> It is significant that both teacher and method are important to DeLaSalle, but it was the teacher whom he made central in his plan. He devoted himself to the creation of a spiritually formed, pedagogically trained, life-career teacher. Then, realizing the importance of method as a tool, he prepared a manual, not in the form of principles . . . of teaching and training, but in terms of practical directions in the conduct of classes.[10]

This dissertation begins with the assumption that the teacher education efforts of DeLaSalle are applicable to all teachers. The assumption is founded on the fact that the teacher education given by DeLaSalle was essentially the same for the brother teachers in the city and for the lay teachers in the countryside.

> The same technique of pedagogical and spiritual formation was used in both types of training (novitiate for city teachers, seminary for rural teachers), and, at Reims, as was evident, the results were highly satisfactory as long as DeLaSalle directed the school.[11]

The Conduct was written as a basic text to be used in the seminary for country schoolteachers as well as in the novitiate for brother teachers. No doubt there were primitive manuscript copies of the 1706 edition in use at St. Hippolyte and St. Denis as well as at Vaugirard, Grand Maison, and St.Yon.

DeLaSalle relied upon three sources when he wrote The Conduct: observation of life, study of contemporary pedagogy, and collaboration with the community of brother teachers. Blain underscores the importance of observation for DeLaSalle who "often went into classes and remained there for several hours equally attentive to the children and

the teachers." The similarities between The Conduct and The Parish School of DeBethancourt have already been noted.

> Developed out of the day-to-day experience in the brothers' schools, utilizing as its base in the beginnings of the school the best formulations of standard practice in The Parish School, it [The Conduct] was a tremendously valuable guide to young teachers.[12]

The Conduct is not the exclusive work of DeLaSalle. The details of methodology came from exchanges with experienced classroom teachers. The preface of 1705 and the foreword of 1720 verify the collaboration.

> This Conduct was prepared and put in order only after a great number of conferences between him (DeLaSalle) and the oldest and most capable teachers among the Brothers of the Institute, and after several years of experience. Nothing has been put there that has not been thoroughly deliberated and well tested, and of which the advantages and disadvantages have not been weighed and, insofar as possible, the good and bad consequences have not been foreseen. (1706, Preface)
>
> (DeLaSalle) sought, together with the principal and most experienced brothers of the Institute, suitable means of maintaining among you a holy uniformity in your manner of educating youth. (1720, Foreword)

A French dictionary of 1721 speaks of conference (conférence) as "the business of several individuals assembled to speak of affairs or studies." Conference did not mean a magisterial lecture given before an audience; conference meant a meeting of competent people having to deal with matters important to them.[13] Blain describes the psychological climate of one such conference of DeLaSalle and the brothers lasting over several days.

> In this retreat of prayer, meditation, silence and recollection each one prepared his heart for the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. . . . Each one was also free to speak his thoughts and sentiments. . . . DeLaSalle, without suggesting his views or giving his ideas, left each one free to think and to say what he wanted.[14]

The Conduct is the elaboration of conferences in an atmosphere of mutual respect and listening, of ardent zeal and humble service. No doubt DeLaSalle gradually compiled the notes from these numerous conferences into working copies of the book. [15]

Structure of The Conduct

The Conduct had been circulating for at least fifteen years before it was printed. In a letter dated 4 September 1705 DeLaSalle wrote to Brother Gabriel Drolin that the Inquisitor General had approved "all our books." The Conduct must have been included in this approval. There exists in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris a manuscript copy, which internal evidence indicates was written between 1704-1706 and therefore is the oldest and most complete existing copy of The Conduct.[16] That the manuscript is faithful to the original text is evident from its great similarity to the principal edition of 1720. That edition was first printed in Avignon without any author's name on the title page. The Foreword, however, is a letter to the brother teachers by Brother Bartholomew, the superior general of the Institute, who attributes the edition to DeLaSalle. Bartholomew speaks of two preparatory revisions of the text. The first revision made at the request of the General Chapter of the Brothers and with the approval of DeLaSalle changed several things which could no longer be put into practice and put the text into better order. The second revision, made after DeLaSalle's death by the superior general, corrected all errors due to lack of accuracy on the part of copyists, and

eliminated all that had become useless. The authority of the General Chapter and the solicitude of the superior general are considered guarantees of the respect and care with which the changes were made in DeLaSalle's text. The differences between the edition of 1705 and that of 1720 are insignificant and are reduced primarily to changes in style.[17]

The Conduct is divided into three parts, but the division is not apparent from either the 1706 manuscript copy or the 1720 printed edition. The title page of the 1720 edition states that the book is divided into two parts. The Preface, however, identifies three parts, although only two parts were printed. Outside sources tell us that the 1720 edition eliminated Part Three on the grounds that what was intended for the formateurs of new teachers and inspectors of schools was of limited interest.[18] The editors of the 1720 edition intended the publication to be a help for teachers. They did not intend, apparently, to make a contribution to the science of pedagogy. The title page of the 1706 manuscript states that the book is divided into three parts. The Preface confirms the three parts with the same text as the 1720 edition. However, Part Three of the 1706 manuscript is incomplete. It contains the duties of the inspector of schools but not the duties of the formateur of the new teachers.

Brother Agathon, superior general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools at the end of the eighteenth century and author of a major revision of The Conduct, speaks of having discovered a partial manuscript dated 1696 "relative to the preparation of the young

teachers and filled with the pioneering spirit of the Institute." Agathon made use of the manuscript in his revision of The Conduct.

> We were occupied in this work [of revising The Conduct], when we discovered, most appropriately, a manuscript dated 1696. Having found the document filled with the primitive spirit of our Society and with principles which have been always employed in the formation of the brother teachers, we believed that we could do nothing better than to include here the rules on formation which it contains and which shall appear more applicable today than when they were first written. We have made only changes which a hundred years' experience and the variations required by the times have rendered necessary.[19]

Unfortunately the manuscript dated 1696 has been lost. However, in 1931 a manuscript copy of the Rule of the Formateur of The New Teachers was discovered in Avignon in the departmental archives of Vaucluse. The twenty-four page notebook (cahier) without cover is a clear copy, entitled on the first page, Rule of the Formateur of the New Teachers, or the Third Part of the Conduct of Schools.[20] The eighteenth century style writing has been analyzed and found to be that of a hasty, alert young man. One sees in the Avignon fragment the persistence of a program of apostolic pedagogy in the teacher education of the young brothers. Most likely one of the novices copied for the director or for the other novices the outline and essential formulas of the Rule of the Formateur.[21] The union of the 1720 principal printed edition, the 1706 Paris manuscript copy, and the eighteenth century Avignon fragmentary manuscript allows us to reconstruct the complete Conduct.

Preface:	Purpose, origin and structure of The Conduct.
Part One:	School exercises and manner of conducting them.
Part Two:	Means of establishing and maintaining order.
	List of the twelve virtues of a good teacher.
Part Three:	Duties of the formateur and the inspector.

Three of the eight eighteenth century manuscripts kept in the archives of the brothers in Rome have rather substantial changes in the text. The identical manuscripts 39 and 40 add six pages to the beginning, entitled "What a Brother Teacher Ought to Think about His Profession," and "Means He Ought to Take to Teach Well." Manuscript 45, written by Agathon at the direction of the general chapters of 1777 and 1787, makes two significant additions to the 1720 edition: (1) Part Four on boarding schools (pensionnats des frères) is added; (2) Part Three on the duties of the formateur and the inspector of schools is restored but moved to the beginning of the book.

> We admit, without difficulty, that the treatise on the formation of teachers, which had never been printed before, occupies in this 're-founding' its logical place, the First Part. Does it not contain all the pedagogical essentials to inculcate in the young teacher?[22]

The present dissertation, following the revision by Agathon, studies Part Three first. In his revised Preface Agathon tells us something of the history of the section on the formateur.

> This section is not new. It is as old as the Society of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. It is the collection of precepts and practices that the brother teachers taught and followed as is evident by their conformity to the rules, constitutions and daily practices. It has not been printed sooner because it was for the particular use of the formateurs and the inspectors. The small number of copies needed for them was able to be supplied by handwritten copies. However, the manuscripts developed changes and differences due to the inexactitude of the copyists and to the difficulty of keeping up with the increased number of copies needed. This printed edition shall correct these inconveniences and shall produce a better expression of the good which is the goal of The Conduct.[23]

The section on the formateur restored by Agathon resembles the Avignon manuscript more for ideas than for expression. Chapter One analyzes the function of the formateur of new teachers in nine sections.

Section I: Without special title
Section II: Benefits of having a formateur
Section III: Of the esteem for teaching
Section IV: General maxims for the formateur
Section V: How to prepare a young teacher for school
Section VI: Faults the formateur ought to correct
Section VII: Qualities to be acquired by a new teacher
Section VIII: Methods of teaching
Section IX: Of the stability of teachers

Chapter Two analyzes the duties of the inspector of schools and Chapter Three describes his visits to the schools.

Of the twenty-four editions of The Conduct published up to 1903, eight merit mentioning. The early editions, prior to Agathon, are faithful to the primitive text. In 1785 Agathon expanded the list of the twelve virtues into a separate book, The Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher. The 1811 edition modifies the section "On Corrections" by lessening the use of corporal punishment and increasing the means of emulation. This edition also moves back the section on the duties of the formateur of the new teachers and of the inspector of schools to Part Three. The 1838 edition ended fifteen years of conflict between the French ministry of education and The Brothers of the Christian Schools over the imposition of the Lancaster-Bell method (la méthode mutuelle) upon the schools. The Preface includes a long note explaining the adoption of the compromise "simultaneous-mutual" method.[24] The edition of 1838 adds new branches of study: history, geography, and drawing. The edition of 1849 replaces the duties of

the formateur and the inspector of schools with "The Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher." The 1860 edition marks a turning point in the history of the classic. Brother Philippe, the superior general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools at that time, confirmed The Conduct as a book in process.

> We understand that a book of this nature is not able to receive a final form. New experiences, progress in methodology, legal prescriptions, new needs demand that from time to time it undergo modifications. The Conduct has already had several very different editions.[25]

Philippe changed the title to L'essai de conduite à l'usage des écoles chrétiennes. Corporal punishment is completely suppressed. New chapters on history, geography, drawing and geometry, politeness, emulation, and grammar are added. A new emphasis is given to employ methods of teaching requiring use of judgment and understanding more than of memory and repetition. "The Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher" continues to replace the duties of the formateur and the inspector of schools. In 1863 a separate brochure for the use of the formateur and inspector of schools was published which was completely different from the original text. The duties of the formateur are divided into personal duties, and duties towards the teachers, the pupils, the public. In 1870 the edition of Brother Philippe was translated into English and entitled School Government. The section on the duties of the "forming-master" is restored, and "The Twelve Virtues of a Good Master" is kept as Part Four. The 1903 edition, entitled Elements of Pedagogy (Eléments de pédagogique practique), and the edition of 1916, entitled Management of the Christian Schools (Conduite à l'usage des

écoles chrétiennes), differ profoundly from the primitive Conduct. Revised in an attempt to meet the needs of the American schools, the two editions are divided into five parts: I. Education, II. School Regulations, III. Teaching Organization, IV. Specialities of the Program, V. Discipline.[26]

In the early 1960s there was a serious effort made by the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the United States to produce at the high-school level an educational instrument comparable to The Conduct.[27] The project, published as The High School Management Series, was an attempt "to revise the founder's manual, to bring it into line with the requirements of the modern era."[28] The publication was "to serve in the training program of the brothers; to integrate the ever increasing number of lay teachers into our school system."[29] Its goal was "to arrive at educational guidelines, refined by revisions, regarded as tentative in view of the swiftly changing nature of contemporary society."[30] In 1965 four volumes were published: General Introduction, Administration, Modern Languages, Science. Seven more volumes soon followed: English, Religion, Social Sciences, Classical Languages, and Mathematics. The project was abandoned in the late 1960s "as a vain attempt to impose an unwanted uniformity upon the rich diversity of teaching methods in American high schools."[31]

In 1956 A Teacher's Guide, a handbook for beginning teachers, had been published by the Christian Brothers of the New York Province and adopted in the New York Archdiocesan school system. A Teacher's

Guide was "designed to pass on the educational excellence and traditions of the Christian Brothers."[32] The fifth revision of A Teacher's Guide in 1980 was published with a companion volume, A Supervisor's Guide. Each volume is divided into six chapters: The Teacher, The Student, The Lesson, The Classroom, Discipline, Opening the School Year. A Teacher's Guide and A Supervisor's Guide constitute an excellent expression of the original intention of The Conduct adapted to the needs of today's beginning teacher.

Lastly, the history of The Conduct should include mention of the three editions used in this dissertation. In 1935 F. Fontainerie translated the 1720 edition into English for the McGraw-Hill series of educational classics. In 1951 Anselme D'Haese published a critical edition of the 1706 manuscript with an introduction and with notes comparing it to the 1720 printed edition. In 1965 Maurice Auguste published the 1706 and 1720 editions in Cahiers lasalliens vol. 24, with parallel passages printed on opposite pages for easy comparison.

The Formateur

Before The Conduct was written, DeLaSalle and the first brother teachers made use of The Parish School as their guide in teacher education. "Qualities of the Teacher," Chapter One of The Parish School, describes the qualities by means of an analysis of the theological virtues, the cardinal virtues, and humility. It is a treatise in scholastic moral theology, which DeBathencourt offered to pastors as a guide in hiring new teachers.[33] But when DeLaSalle

describes the education of new teachers he begins, not with moral theology, but with "things which a new teacher must learn and the means of enabling him to do so." His intention was directly to assist those responsible for the education of the young brother teachers and the country schoolteacher candidates.

> For the purpose of forming his pupil-teachers in the art of teaching, DeLaSalle selected from among his brothers a number of experienced masters whom he called Formateurs de nouveaux maitres, and to whom he gave the task of supervising and directing the first efforts of the inexperienced. For the guidance of the formateurs themselves in this important work, he wrote a special Regle du formateur.[34]

Part Three deals with the person and character of the teacher candidate. It sets forth the ethical and professional standards which should govern the teacher's behavior in relation to students, parents, clergy, other teachers, and the public in general.

The rule of the formateur is deceptively simple: (1) to remove the bad qualities which new teachers have but which they ought not to have; (2) to instill new teachers with the good qualities which they do not have but which is very necessary that they have.[35] The fifteen bad qualities are these: an itching to talk, too great activity, indifference, preoccupation, harshness, spite, partiality, negligence, lack of determination, discouragement, familiarity, loss of time, fickleness, giddiness, failure to be aware of individual differences in pupils. The ten good qualities are these: vigor, firmness, reserve, vigilance, self-control, skill in teaching, prudence, approachability, zeal, facility to express oneself correctly and at the level of the child.[36]

DeLaSalle would have the new teacher moderate his activity and his over-hastiness. He would have him correct his lightheadedness and his inclination to harshness, severity and impatience. He instructed the formateur in the way to deal with one who is easily discouraged, or who is inclined to supineness and drowsiness. The new teacher must be warned against favoritism and indulgence in particular friendships with the pupils. On the other hand, the teacher must set himself to acquire self-confidence, firmness and authority.[37]

The rule of the formateur goes on to prescribe the means by which the formateur helps the new teacher eradicate his bad qualities.

Itchiness to talk: The formateur should notify the new teacher right away (sur le champ) or immediately after school when the new teacher corrects the recitation mistakes of a student too quickly, or by himself rather than by another student.

Fidgetiness: The formateur should explain clearly to the new teacher when he should speak and when he should not speak in the classroom. When the new teacher has a habit of speaking or acting unnecessarily or unwisely, the formateur shall make a sign, previously agreed upon, to call it to his attention.

Harshness: The formateur shall not permit the new teacher a frequency of correction. He shall make certain that he understands that it is not harshness which produces good order in a class, but a constant vigilance mixed with circumspection and kindness. The formateur shall watch over his corrections and show him how to correct moderately. The new teacher shall render an account of all the corrections which he has given, the reasons why he gave them, and the manner in which he conducted himself.

Spite: The new teacher should act with exterior politeness and zeal towards the students least attractive. The formateur should not make known all the faults of a new teacher, but only one or two at the most. He shall give hints on how to overcome the faults, and he shall motivate and encourage the new teacher's efforts. He shall deal with each new teacher individually according to his individual dispositions.

Familiarity: The new teacher should have a common charity for all, but more for the poor than the rich. He should not show favoritism by having "little Benjamins." The formateur shall make the new teacher understand that children who are favored often abuse the friendship and become insolent; that children who are not favored become jealous and harbor a dislike for the teacher and for the favored child.

Negligence: It is necessary for the formateur to give more attention to a slow and negligent teacher, often reminding him to be faithful even to little things.

Distraction: The formateur shall help the new teacher not to be dissipated or preoccupied in school. The new teacher should see every student and know what each is doing. He should not look only at the same place but should be looking over the whole class. He should not be so attentive to his book that he is not aware of what is happening in the class. During the time of his formation, until he is well accustomed to follow the reading and to watch the class at the same time, he should go over the reading before class three or four times so that he knows what it is and has a facility for keeping the place.[38]

The rule of the formateur also discusses the means by which a new teacher can acquire the good qualities necessary for a good teacher:

Skill in teaching: The new teacher must frequently be shown how to teach in the novitiate. [Practice lessons were organized. Each new teacher in turn gave model lessons, the performance of which was criticized. No doubt the same practice was followed in the seminary for country schoolteachers.]

Vigor: From the first day the new teacher should learn to enter the classroom with a deliberate and grave bearing, watching all the students, as if he had thirty years of experience. It is necessary that he does not make any correction during the first week. If correction must be given, it should not be given to a little student, but to the most mischievous and the biggest whose correction will make the most impression on the class.

Authority: The new teacher should not allow any student to speak to him without permission or without respect. He should not appear too generous or considerate. He should speak little and only with deliberation, meaning what he says. He should not speak thoughtlessly, but with clarity and decisiveness. He should not be fidgety. He should never laugh without control when something funny happens. He should administer punishment only at the teacher's place and always to the bigger boys first. If the fault is minor and the boys are submissive, it is good to pardon them.

Firmness: Firmness consists in getting done what one wishes, immediately and without delay. The formateur shall make sure that the new teacher finishes everything which he has undertaken, and the formateur shall help him if there is need. The formateur shall give the new teacher all the authority he needs to do his duty, and he shall make the new teacher understand that he ought to comport himself as if the formateur were not present. He shall assign, as much as he is able, a new teacher near a master

> teacher. It is necessary that the formateur work with the new teacher in such a way that the children always leave school in such a contented way that they are not able to report anything to their parents which will upset them. It is necessary to study carefully the thinking, the manners and the inclinations of the children in order to be able to manage them in a way which is suitable to them. [Italics mine.][39]

The rule of the formateur has a simplicity about it that borders on naivete: eliminate unsuitable traits and substitute suitable traits. One would expect such a program of lists-of-things-to-be-done to achieve very little except to be included in a book of lists. However, the clear parameters and the explicit guidelines set up by DeLaSalle and the serious efforts of the formateur and the new teachers made the prescriptions work. The rule of the formateur aims at a behavior modification easily identified, observed, and evaluated by both the new teacher and the formateur. The teacher's efforts receive immediate reward and reinforcement from the response of the students in the classroom and from the good reports of the pastor, parents, and townspeople. The rule of the formateur reveals that practice teaching begins early. The new teacher learns to teach by teaching. Supervision takes place in the classroom in a close working relationship between the new teacher and the formateur. Much importance is placed on self-control in the teacher (le maitre en soi).[40]

The Inspector of Schools

The director of the community has responsibility for the administration of the schools whose teachers reside in his community house. If teachers of three or four schools reside in the same house,

then an inspector of schools is assigned to help the director in the administration of the schools and the supervision of the teachers.

> The office of the inspector of schools consists principally of two [sic] things: (1) the supervision (vigilance) which he ought to have over the schools, over the teachers and over the students; (2) the placement of the students into classes and in the assignment of their lesson; (3) the promotion from the lesson when they are capable of one more advanced.[41]

The office of the inspector of schools is no sinecure: "He shall remain in the same school from the beginning of the day until the end of the day and he shall observe all that goes on in all of the classes."[42] The inspector of schools is responsible for interviewing parents and for screening, accepting and placing students. In cooperation with the teacher he examines and promotes the students every month. The four chapters of "The Rule of the Inspector of Schools" make a fine supplement to Part One on classroom management. In general the inspector sees that the new teachers observe all that is prescribed in The Conduct.

To appreciate the significance of the supervision which the young teacher receives from the inspector of schools one must understand its historical context with Jansenism which took a dim view of the weaknesses of human nature; with the lawsuits of the teaching masters who spied upon the brother teachers so as to discredit them; and with the sensitivity of the pastors who wished to keep the brother teachers under their authority.

> That all the teachers begin school and the exercises of the school precisely at the time indicated; that in all the classes the time which each lesson ought to last be regulated in proportion to the number of students; that no teacher shorten or prolong the time prescribed for each lesson.

That during the lessons the teachers apply themselves to making the students read correctly and distinctly, neither too loud nor too soft, without any bad accent, according to the level and the rule for reading; that the teachers make all the students, without omitting any, read one after the other for an equal length of time.

That the teachers teach the catechism lesson on the topic assigned for the week; that they advance nothing in the lesson which they have not read in the approved and authorized books; that they never decide upon any action as mortal or venial.

That the teachers never receive anything from the students, and, if they do take something from the students because they were fooling around with it or for any other reason, that they shall return it at the end of the day, or, if they believe that it is harmful to the students, that they give it to the brother director.

That the teachers never make a correction during catechism or prayers; that new or young teachers not make a correction with the verges [rod] without having talked about it with the inspector or whoever takes his place; that they do not give the férule [strap] too frequently; that the teachers never strike students with foot, hand or baguette [pointer]; that they do not speak except in necessity outside of the time of catechism, examination of conscience, and reflection; that they do not leave their place; that they follow the reading in their book; that they correct the writing according to the time and order prescribed.[43]

The first formateur and inspector of schools was Brother John Jacquot (1672-1759) appointed at the age of twenty-seven by DeLaSalle at Grand Maison during the exciting year (1699) when the Sunday school opened and the Institute spread out into Provencal. Brother John Jacquot was one of the original twelve to make a vow to stay together as teachers, and one of the principal contributors to The Conduct.[44] Better than anyone, he understood in its full significance the pedagogical tradition described in the Preface. In Brother John's hands, the book became a means of emulation to the young teachers. Motivated by a spirit of community, the young teachers emulated the ideal of

unity and uniformity, an important feature of DeLaSalle's teacher education.

> Such a spirit the second generation of brothers owed principally to Brother John, who inculcated in the young teachers, whom he formed, a practical pedagogy whose letter so wisely remained open to the spirit of unity, union and uniformity in the advances amalgamated by the community.[45]

The initiative and personal action of the young teacher as a contributing faculty member had its source in the community. In the context of teaching in association, the history of teacher education by DeLaSalle shows that teaching was never undertaken as routine, the death and burial of initiative. The Conduct encourages a creativity planned in dialogue and executed with fraternal interaction and criticism. For example, the teachers are invited to create new means of emulation and to improve upon the function and design of the classroom furnishings.

> If, however, some brothers should later on find another manner of constructing these writing tables, which would be easier and more solid, he shall propose it to the Brother Superior before making use of it.[46]

The Rule of 1705 includes a number of prescriptions relative to school: what should be taught (to read French), and how to treat students (to love them tenderly, especially the poor, to call them only by their proper names, never to strike them with hand or foot, not to speak harshly to them). However, that these early rules appear in The Rule is not to make regulations sacred; they are based upon proven classroom experience. Bi-monthly letters and weekly interviews with the superiors and regular daily examination of professional performance provide a continual channel for improvement. Six times a

year the teacher writes the superior about his progress in school, about his students' progress, about the rules he found difficult to follow. Every week each teacher has an interview with the director (inspector) to discuss personal experience with the pedagogy of The Conduct.[47]

Notes on Novices

We do not know exactly the pedagogical program of DeLaSalle's novitiate other than that suitable exercises are prescribed which alternate between the novitiate and the school. We do know in general that the education received in the secular and religious women novitiates at the time had an impact upon the schools.

> The clear superiority of the schools conducted by the Brothers and the various Congregations of religious women founded at this period was due in large part to the fact that in the novitiate candidates received at least some rudimentary teacher training and instruction in classroom procedure, which was followed up later on by regular inspection and by the supervision exercised by Directors and more experienced teachers.[48]

Notes Relative to the Conduct of Some Novices (1723-1724) is a fragmentary document containing personal notes of Brother Irenaeus (1691-1747), the director of novices at St. Yon for almost thirty years.[49] The Notes highlights the care and attention given the individual teacher candidate and gives us a glimpse of teacher education in the novitiate. The teacher education is concerned with the character development of the candidate as well as with his teaching ability. From The Notes we can conjecture how the formateur, the inspector of schools, the community house director, and the director of novices

work as a teacher education team. The director of novices keeps on file his own comments about the novices plus the remarks transmitted to him about their performance as student teachers. The Notes follow the format of the rule of the formateur: bad qualities to be eliminated, good qualities to be encouraged. The individual notes are written at the end of each month when the director of novices regularly records his observations. The notes are for the director's private use, and his discretion explains the small number of notes to escape destruction.

> Nicholas DuPont (Brother Martinien): he is dull; he has little talent; he is not very sociable; he projects sadness rather than joy. Good qualities: he has average memory; he has good motivation for becoming a teacher; he is docile, humble, devout and disposed to recollection.
>
> Jacques Vital (Brother Honore): he is in poor health. Good qualities: he is intelligent with average memory; he is polite, obedient, humble, and has high religious ideals; he likes to pray for others, especially for his superiors, rather than for himself; he has great confidence in God's forgiveness of his faults.
>
> François Genard (Brother Raymond): he is troubled with headaches from trying too hard; he is scrupulous and excessively fearful with regard to his studies; he has lost the freedom necessary to do his duty; he makes 'mountains' out of small faults and he cries easily. Good qualities: he is docile, pious.
>
> Nicolas Longuet (Brother Chrysostom): he has a poor memory and because of this he has discontinued his studies; he is inconstant, forgetful, and shy. Once at recreation he disapproved of indulgences, saying that the Holy Father was not able to accord the deliverance of a soul from purgatory. Under the pretext of zeal to start teaching right away, he wants to leave; he no longer applies himself to his exercises. He has been at the school for two months where he showed little docility; he was much attached to his own way of doing things. Good qualities: he volunteered to be in charge of the kitchen; he appears now to be firm in his desire to teach; he went out to teach very well disposed to acquire the virtues of his profession.
>
> Guillaume DuBarbon (Brother Maclou): he is inconstant, attached to his own opinion, and impatient. When he does not think something

> is wrong, it is very difficult to make him see otherwise. When he fails, he gets discouraged and it is difficult for him to forget it. He answers back and displays his displeasure. Once at catechism he did not wish to answer, as I had told him, through attachment to his own understanding. Once when he was doing a penance, I made a sign to him to come forward, but he acted as if he did not see me and did not come forward. Two or three times he has murmured loud enough to be heard by the others. Sometimes he contradicts aloud whoever is in charge. When he was in charge of the kitchen he spent time reading the books in the dining room and talking to the delivery man about his temptations. Good qualities: he is pious, bears up well under humiliations, and is well disposed to obedience and recollection. He witnesses to a great zeal for teaching. He is intelligent and has a good memory. He is skillful in what he does. He continues to improve and to acquit himself of his duty.[50]

DeLaSalle did not institute catechism examinations, diplomas of proficiency, or pedagogical competitions as measures of the suitability of hiring a beginning teacher. However, he gives much thought to the placement of a young teacher in his first teaching position. He prefers to create a solid system of teacher education and to adapt by a judicious choice each teacher to a teaching position for which he is suited. DeLaSalle considers the misplacement of a teacher a major cause for lack of success in a school.

> If it happens that parents complain that their children are not learning anything, or very little, it is important to obviate this complaint: (1) by not placing a teacher into the writing class who is not capable of teaching writing; (2) by not placing, or allowing to remain in any school a teacher who is not capable of acquitting himself well of his duty and of teaching well the children entrusted to him.[51]

In this regard the director, the formateur, and the inspector of schools are to watch with very great care over all the new teachers, particularly those who have less capacity. The Rule of 1705 indicates that the brother teachers keep to a regime in their houses which aims at the improvement of their instruction by providing time for

daily periods of personal study and preparation of lessons.[52] Pedagogical competence and a perfect grasp of subject matter are considered essential. The permanent system of in-service supervision contributes to strengthen the professional qualities acquired in the novitiate.

The Twelve Virtues

The list of twelve virtues of a good teacher occupies a curious position in The Conduct. The simple list constitutes the abrupt ending of the 1720 edition. Logically the list of virtues is better suited as an introduction to Part Three on teacher education rather than as a disjointed end to Part Two on method. If this list had not also been mentioned in The Collection, it could be mistaken for an afterthought. Nowhere in The Conduct or in his other writings does DeLaSalle elaborate on the twelve virtues, although he does treat extensively of individual virtues in The Collection, The Meditations, and The Rule. Yet the list of twelve virtues touches upon the heart of the matter of teacher education for DeLaSalle. The list highlights the fact that what matters most is not what the teacher says or does but what kind of person the teacher is. For DeLaSalle the person of the teacher assumes an importance in pedagogy beyond methodology or technique.[53]

The following description of the twelve virtues is composed of the original list, the major revisions in names made through the

years, definitions, and quotations that seem pertinent to DeLaSalle's perception of the role of the virtues in teacher education:[54]

La gravité, seriousness, gravity (1785): a seriousness without gloom that would provide a distinctive air.

> This seriousness which is demanded of the teachers does not consist in having a severe or austere aspect, in getting angry or in saying harsh words; but it consists in a great reserve in their gestures, in their actions and in their words.[55]

Le silence, silence: a calm demeanor that commands attention.

> Silence, being one of the principal means of establishing and maintaining order in school, the Brothers shall look upon its exact observance as one of their principal rules; to bring themselves to its exactness, they should frequently call to mind that it would be of little use to try to have their pupils observe silence, if they themselves were not faithful in this respect. For this purpose they shall be very attentive always to employ the signals in use in the schools.[56]

L'humilité, humility: a simplicity that does not overwhelm the child with heavy-handed authority.

> Do you wish to win over your disciples for God? Become a child like them, not in wisdom, but in humility. The more you practice humility, . . . the more easily you will touch the hearts of those you instruct.[57]

La prudence, prudence: an ability to adapt to the level of the child.

> They should have prudent and vigilant guides, who have sufficient knowledge of the things of piety and of boys' weaknesses, so as to lead them effectively.[58]

La sagesse, wisdom: common sense that knows what is practical and not just theoretical.

> Let us practice before their eyes what we are trying to teach them. We will make a greater impression on them by a wise and modest conduct than by a multitude of words.[59]

La patience, patience: a toleration of the imperfection of others.

> You cannot better instruct your students than by giving them good example, and repressing within yourself every movement of impatience.[60]

La retenue, restraint, discretion (1785), justice (1962): self-control.

> Your instructions should be understood by them and proportioned to their intelligence; otherwise, they would be of little use to them.[61]

La douceur, gentleness, meekness (1785), kindness (1962): a goodness that engenders affection.

> You ought to have as great a care and affection for the children entrusted to you, in order to preserve or re-establish their innocence and to guard them from whatever may interfere with their education and prevent them from acquiring piety.[62]

Le zèle, zeal: devotedness in action.

> Your zeal would have little or no success if it were limited to words; to make it effective, your example must reinforce your teaching. It will become perfect if you practice what you preach; then it will make a real impression on the students, who are inclined to imitate what they see done rather than to practice what we tell them.[63]

La vigilance, vigilance, firmness (1962): a constant attention to guard against anything that could cause physical or moral harm to the student.

> Watch diligently over the boys, for there is no order in a school except insofar as we supervise the pupils. That is the way to make them improve. It is not your impatience that will correct them but your watchfulness and good behavior.[64]

> You are the substitutes of the parents. God has established you the spiritual fathers of the students you instruct; then have for them the firmness of a father and the gentleness of a mother.[65]

La piété, piety: a recourse to God for oneself and for others.

> You should have such a spirit of piety, drawn from mental prayer and the practice of recollection, that you will be able to impart it to your pupils, so that all those who see them in church will marvel at their good behavior and reserve.[66]

La générosité, generosity: an unselfish spirit that never counts the cost.

> Your generosity should be such, in fact, that you should be ready to give your life, if necessary, to show how dear to you are the children confided to your care.[67]

Nothing is more significant about the list than its blend of virtues specifically religious and qualities properly pedagogical.[68] For DeLaSalle the education of the teacher and the formation of the Christian interpenetrate, and in this sense teacher education is an integration process. Agathon concludes in his work on the twelve virtues:

> The twelve virtues contain the four principal means by which skillful teachers succeed in the education of children: making themselves esteemed, loved, respected and feared.[69]

There is nothing sacred about the number twelve in the list of virtues. It is interesting to compare the list of twelve virtues with a similar list of fourteen virtues published in the seventeenth century in England in The Christian Schoolmaster: patience and humility; sagacity and judgment; justice and equity; meekness and forbearance; candor and sweetness of disposition; diligence and application; piety and a devout frame of spirit.[70] In the 1922 edition of the Considerations for Christian Teachers the twelve virtues were expanded to twenty-two virtues and published as integral chapters among seventy-two meditations on topics widened well beyond the original

list. In 1962 Luke M. Grande wisely dropped "the" changing the title to Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher.[71]

The virtues appear appropriate to a good judge, and the sociology of Lasallian origins suggests the influence of his father and family upon DeLaSalle's listing: "Traditionally historians attributed this to ecclesiastical influences, but could not his father and uncle have communicated a taste for gravity to DeLaSalle." [72] Prudence and kindness are the most important of the virtues for DeLaSalle, and he earmarks these two virtues as the qualities the brother teachers should look for in his successor. Nearly one-third of Agathon's volume is occupied by the seventh virtue, kindness (douceur). The words about wisdom, reserve, prudence, gravity, patience, kindness, even those about humility, silence, and vigilance accentuate an impression that lessons in the Lasallian classroom ought to proceed in an atmosphere of calm, serenity, and mutual respect.[73]

DeLaSalle's concern to preserve the teachers' health is one reason why he lists silence as a virtue.[74] He forbides the brother teachers in their pursuit of virtue to do any physical penance which might harm their health and interfere with their teaching. He is preoccupied with the effects of physical and mental fatigue upon the teacher. The Conduct offers appropriate techniques for obtaining order and work from students with the minimum of fatigue. Mastery of the pedagogical structures (twenty-six orders for reading; thirty-six orders for writing) does not just happen; the teacher has to work at it. The lack of hygiene in the classroom, a room not well heated in

the winter and filled with children not always kept clean, takes its toll.

> To remain in a great tranquility, in a perfect balance of humor, with a noble gravity, and a gentle firmness, with a vigilant zeal, without upset and without emotion, this was not done without wear and tear on the teacher's nerves and on his health.[75]

The list of the twelve virtues, the rules of the formateur and the guidance of the inspector of schools present the means by which the teachers are prepared to deal with students, parents, clergy, and other teachers.

> In training for such social work (teaching poor children), it is essential to submit men to long training and discipline. They must be trained not only in the technique of a profession but also in its ideals and in its public relations.[76]

The twelve virtues present the teacher as a living example of the qualities and attitudes deemed important in the development of the child.[77] In this regard the teacher is to present himself as a man of reserve and self-control, a model of politeness and modesty. DeLaSalle's task in teacher education is to raise the moral and social character of the teachers while expanding their pedagogical knowledge and skills. However, the list and the rules prove insufficient by themselves to accomplish DeLaSalle's teacher education goals. The list and the rules remain on a technical level and need to be complemented on a spiritual level to complete teacher education according to DeLaSalle.

The Meditations

As a guide to teacher education, The Conduct is incomplete.

> The pedagogical principles which have stamped the work of DeLaSalle with its special characteristics and given that work its profound religious influence are to be found in The Meditations rather than in The Conduct.[78]

The education of a teacher according to DeLaSalle includes more than learning subject matter, methods of instruction, and acquiring habits which bring pedagogical success. The teacher education prescribed in The Conduct needs to be complemented by pedagogical principles described in The Meditations if one wishes to understand the pedagogical élan which carried DeLaSalle and the first brother teachers to success. DeLaSalle's teacher education can only be appreciated by studying both works. The Conduct deals with the technical means of education and forms the "spirit of geometry" of teaching. The Meditations deal with the ends of education and constitutes its "spirit of finesse." Blain tells us that DeLaSalle explained so well the excellence, importance and advantages of the teaching profession in The Meditations that "one is able to add very little to this so noble matter."[79] One educator describes The Meditations as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in the history of education has such a high conception of the teacher been developed in richer detail than in the discussion by DeLaSalle. Its immediate effect is to raise teaching to the highest place among the professions right alongside religion. It reveals the concern of teaching with the supreme interests of man. It is not merely a process of learning lessons; it is the making or remaking of human beings. It is a participation in the continuing creative process of having men reach their highest potentialities.[80]

The Meditations were not printed until 1730, but well before then The Practice of the Daily Regulation and The Rule prescribed afternoon meditations on teaching during the annual retreat. DeLaSalle frequently refers to teaching as work (l'emploi de l'école),

and from ancient usage The Meditations were called Meditations sur l'emploi. Blain preferred the word "profession" for teaching, which explains why he does not refer to the book by its specific title. In The Meditations DeLaSalle invites the teachers to reflect upon the purpose of their employment.

> The end of your employment is to work continually at the Christian education of children. . . . To procure the salvation of the children of whom you are in charge is the end of your state and employment. . . . To touch the hearts of your pupils, to inspire in them the Christian spirit, is the end of your employment.[81]

No one can read The Meditations for the time of retreat without a profound conviction of the greatness of the work of the Christian teacher. Unfortunately fate has kept The Meditations in the dark since the death of DeLaSalle: "Somehow, despite the great attachment of the Brothers to all the writings of DeLaSalle, The Meditations have been hardly known."[82] In addition to The Meditations for time of retreat, DeLaSalle wrote over two hundred meditations as short reflections on the Gospel and the lives of the saints in light of teachers' experiences in school. Throughout these meditations are scattered short statements of principles of Christian pedagogy.

DeLaSalle wrote The Meditations in the last years of his life as the expression of the synthesis of his life in teacher education, and as a call to the brother teachers to realize their lives also in such an experience.[83] DeLaSalle's aim in writing The Meditations is essentially practical. He is in no way concerned with philosophical considerations or with the exposition of ideas for their own sake.

DeLaSalle intends The Meditations to teach the Gospel meaning of the teacher's life and work throughout the school year.

> DeLaSalle is helping the brother teachers to study the substance of their daily experience in the educational service they provide and to see the Gospel dimension of the service and all of its demands. . . . DeLaSalle is helping the teacher understand that way of life with his students which constitutes the center of his religious experience.[84]

The Meditations are written in the second person directly to the teacher. The style is marked by a simplicity that is often rigorous: there is nothing of the pious homily in these reflections.[85] There are sixteen meditations altogether, two for each day of the annual eight day retreat. In the daily pair of meditations, the afternoon meditation is a practical consideration of the morning meditation. For example, on day three the morning meditation is "Teachers are Guardian Angels of Children," and the afternoon meditation is "How Teachers Fulfill the Function of Guardian Angels." On day five the morning meditation is "The Obligation of a Teacher to Have Zeal for Teaching," and the afternoon meditation is "How to Have Zeal for Teaching." Each meditation is divided into three sections. Each section consists of a consideration about the topic followed by a practical application. The sixteen meditations are divided into three groups. Meditations 1-6 deal with transcendence: they challenge the faith of the teachers "to see the mystery of God in the concrete actions of their ministry." Meditations 7-12 deal with apostolic experience: they challenge the zeal of teachers "to deal with their students even to the point of laying down their lives." Meditations 13-16 deal with eschatological

joy: they challenge teachers to put themselves "under the judgment of the word of God."[86]

The literary sources of The Meditations have not been systematically studied, although we do know DeLaSalle's primary sources include, among others, DeBathencourt, Demia, Roland, Barre and St. Paul.

> Such is, in summary, this book which in several passages clearly reflects the teachings of the Ecole paroissiale, the Remonstrances of Charles Demia, the Avis of Nicholas Roland, and the Maximes of Father Barré. But these teachings are broadened by all the profound and powerful dimensions of the doctrine of the Apostle Paul.[87]

> The most original part of his teaching is his grasp on St. Paul. Beyond all other sources that can be found, it is unquestionable that the principal source of the thought of the Founder of the Christian Schools is St. Paul.[88]

> The Meditations of Father Giry, written for the Sisters of the Charitable Schools of the Holy Infant Jesus, especially for the time of their retreat, and published in 1696 in Paris [because of its structure and content] is considered a source. The influence of this book on The Meditations is clear, but the citations from St. Paul in the work of Giry have a meaning which is entirely different from what is characteristic of DeLaSalle's use of St. Paul.[89]

The Meditations provide practical theological reflections on the goals of education and a theological background for The Conduct insofar as they show how DeLaSalle views teacher, student and school in light of St. Paul.[90] In this sense we can say that he communicates a theology of education to his new teachers. DeLaSalle drew upon two seventeenth century French authors of meditations: Francois Giry, the successor of Father Barré, who wrote about the emploi of teaching, and Matthieu Beuvelet who wrote about the dignity of the priesthood. He combines the ideas of these two authors when he writes about the dignity of the

work of teaching. He applies Beuvelet's concept of the priest as a man for others to the teacher who saves himself in working for others. He applies Beuvelet's phrase, ordinarily reserved for the priesthood, to teachers: true cooperators of Jesus Christ in the salvation of children. DeLaSalle goes beyond Beuvelet by likening the teacher to the bishop and by declaring that teachers share directly in the ministry of the bishops.

> A new spirituality sees the light of day, that of a teaching religious directly mandated by the Church to do a teaching task elevated to the level of a ministry.[91]

The idea was common in the seventeenth century that teaching was a ministry similar to the diaconate. DeLaSalle uses the word "ministry" to describe teaching twenty-seven times. However, he goes further than Barré and Roland who thought of the primary schoolteachers of the poor as charged with a mission in the church similar to that of the deacons and deaconesses of apostolic times. He repeats several times in The Meditations that the brother teachers exercise by delegation a share in the ministry which the apostles reserved for themselves in the primitive church. The apostles assigned other works of charity and matters of concern to the deacons so that they themselves might be free to teach. "In refusing the diaconate and the priesthood to his teachers, DeLaSalle raised the dignity of their task as Christian teachers to the level of the episcopal ministry. This was truly a new conception."[92] DeLaSalle's understanding of the sacerdotal doctrine of St. Sulpice and his conviction that Christian

teachers share in the priesthood (presque un sacerdoce) is characteristic of his spirituality for teachers and was quite original for his time.

> He insisted on the fact that every Christian educator of the faith participated in the ministry of the bishops. This participation, according to DeLaSalle, was not an ecclesiastical privilege. The laity also shared in it although a mandate of the Church was no less necessary than for the priest.[93]

In The Conduct DeLaSalle moves teaching as an occupation into a profession. In The Meditations he moves the profession of the layman as teacher into the realm of a religious vocation.

Three Conversions

In The Meditations DeLaSalle calls for "three conversions" which profoundly affect the educational relationship of the teacher with his students and the teacher's exercise of the means of educating children.[94] DeLaSalle calls upon the teacher to win the hearts (gagner les coeurs) of students as their older brother, minister of Christ, and guardian angel. By "fraternal conversion" one becomes an older brother to one's students and reaches them on their level. By "tender conversion" one becomes an ambassador of Christ and touches the hearts of one's students. By "guardian conversion" one becomes the visible angel watching over one's students and cares deeply for their physical and moral welfare. The awareness of the profound reality and the responsibility for these three conversions is an essential experience in Lasallian teacher education.

The teachers no longer call themselves schoolmasters. Their efforts to accommodate and to get close to the children establishes a new kind of relationship between educator and educated: a relationship not of master but of older brother.[95] They are called brothers because they regard themselves as such in the service of their younger brothers. "Regarding themselves as the older brothers of those who came to receive their lessons, they had to exercise this work of charity with a charitable heart."[96] The brother teachers also regard each other as brothers united in this educational enterprise. The title reminds them that, being brothers to one another, they owe each other reciprocal friendship and support.

> This name reminded them that the charity which had given birth to their Institute ought to be its soul and its life; that charity ought to preside at all their deliberations, and to animate all their designs; that it is charity which ought to motivate their actions and which ought to regulate all their dealings and to animate all their words and works.[97]

The brother teachers affirm the conversion by taking a new name and a new professional garb. The Rule emphasizes the importance of the fraternal teacher-student relationship by requiring that the teacher never be called anything but brother. Although the candidates in the seminary for country schoolteachers do not make a public profession of brotherhood, they also are educated to the same fraternal teacher-student relationship.

A phenomenological analysis of the older brother-younger brother relationship between teacher and student would reveal the essence of the workings of the unique love which the fraternal conversion calls forth in the teacher. For DeLaSalle it is the teacher, as

a caring older brother, who alleviates the evils of ignorance and neglect suffered by the children of the poor.

> You should look upon the children whom you are called to instruct as poor, abandoned orphans, for although most of them have a father living, they are as if they had not, being abandoned to themselves as far as the salvation of their souls is concerned. It is for this reason that God has appointed you their guardian. He has pity on them, and cares for them as being their Protector, their support and their Father. But the care He seeks to take of them He devolves upon you.[98]

The Conduct is penetrated with the view that the fraternal conversion be expressed in every possible way. For example, it emphasizes that the brother must teach and speak to the children on their level (à la portée).

> The brother shall not use clever words. . . . For these children are simple and for the most part poorly brought up. Those who help them to save themselves must speak simply, so that every word will be clear and easy to understand.[99]

The origin of the vocation of the brother teacher lies in pity at the deplorable moral and spiritual situation of the children of the artisans and the poor, but very quickly this pity becomes a fraternal love, mutually fraternal. The children learn to love their teachers who are completely given to them, who help them leave their sub-human condition, who give them confidence, and who have gestures of tenderness for all. DeLaSalle approaches teacher education from a perspective very much the fruit of love and concern.[100]

The tender conversion to touch hearts is the strong belief that the most important things in life are found in relation to other people. The Conduct is written for teachers whose last word in education is to win hearts. DeLaSalle emphasizes that love and tenderness

should characterize the educational relationship of a teacher with his pupils; that the teacher should show children a tenderness, supernatural in the sense that it comes from faith, and corporal in the sense that it finds ways of smiling and gesturing which reveal the goodness and affection of the heart.[101]

> The reason why pupils absent themselves is that they have little affection for their teacher who is not prepossessing and who does not know how to win them. On almost every occasion he resorts to severity and punishments and so the children are unwilling to come to school. . . . the brother teachers [should apply themselves] to be very prepossessing and to acquire a polite, affable, and frank appearance, without, however, assuming an undignified and familiar manner. Let them do everything for all their pupils to win them all to Jesus Christ.
>
> Do you have the sentiments of love and tenderness for the poor children that you teach? Do you profit from the affection that they have for you in order to bring them to God? If you have towards them the firmness of a father to draw them out of and to keep them away from disorders, you ought also to have for them the tenderness of a mother to gather them together and to do all the good you can for them.[102]

The tender conversion acknowledges with modern psychology that without love the most skillful pedagogical techniques are ineffective in helping a child grow.

> The first and fundamental transformation which is produced in the life of a student is that an adult is interested in him, truly in him, and recognizes him as a person.[103]

The tender conversion places a heavy responsibility upon the teacher: his love becomes for his students a visible sacrament of the personal love God has for each of them.[104] DeLaSalle often speaks of the need of a teacher to "put himself within reach" of the children, especially the poor children.

> You are under the obligation to instruct the poor. You should therefore have a great tenderness towards them and supply their spiritual wants to the best of your ability, looking upon these

> children as members of Jesus Christ and as His much loved ones. The faith which animates you should lead you to respect Jesus Christ in their person and should make you prefer them to the rich ones of earth since they are the living images of Jesus Christ our Divine Master. Make it appear, by the care you take of your pupils, that you have a real love for them, and ask St.Nicholas, their Patron, to obtain for you from God some part of his affection for the poor.[105]

In the meditation for the feast of St. Anselm, DeLaSalle makes the unexpected point that, in showing gentleness to the children, the teacher also is filled a little more with the tender love of God.[106]

The classical period of the seventeenth century embraced humanism and reason, but it did not pay much attention to its children. Children in the seventeenth century were no more given a place in literature (sacred or profane) than at the family table or in the salons.[107] DeLaSalle lovingly bends down to these sons of God, and he directs his teachers to love their students tenderly.

> You ought to have for them the tenderness of a mother in order to receive them and to do for them all the good which depends upon you.
>
> Regard your students as the children of God Himself. Have much more care for their education and for their instruction than you would have for the children of a king.[108]

In a letter to a director who complained that the teachers did not trust him DeLaSalle indicates how important it is that teachers and administrators also have pleasant and open relations with one another as well as with the students.

> It is your own fault because you do not try to acquire the even temper that is so necessary for one in your position. Your brother teachers complain that they never find you in the same mood twice, and they commonly say that you have a countenance like a prison door.[109]

In the guardian conversion the teacher assumes the responsibility for knowing his students as individuals, for having a general grasp of their psychology and for being their good guide.[110] The guardian conversion originates in the teacher's encounter with the God who reveals Jesus Christ, and it results in bringing the salvation of Jesus Christ to the level of the young.

> Babies at birth are "bundles of flesh." As children their minds are clouded because they are less free of their senses and material things. If left to themselves they will be incapable of knowing or enjoying spiritual things. They need someone (a good teacher, a visible angel) to develop the Christian truths for them in a more concrete fashion, one that is harmonious with the limitations of their minds.
>
> But it is not enough for them to know only the doctrines and mysteries of their religion. You must teach the practical maxims that are found throughout the Gospel. To appreciate and practice these maxims effectively they need visible angels to inspire them by instruction and good example. You must win them to practice the maxims of the Gospel and to this end you must give them means which are easy and accommodated to their age.[111]

DeLaSalle speaks of the psychological, moral and religious development of the child in anthropological categories of the seventeenth century, but the difficulties and needs of growing children remain universal. The guardian teacher is aware of the natural weaknesses of children, of the difficulties they have growing up, and of the need they have for a good guide. For DeLaSalle the salvation of the poor children means the liberation from bad habits and from all which makes their lives sub-human.[112] Salvation of the young is an inseparable amalgam of eternal and temporal salvation.

> DeLaSalle's language makes it clear that in his view it is impossible at any point to separate, much less oppose, commitment to God and commitment to human beings, relationship to God and exercise of ministry, attention to God alone and realistic concern for the welfare of the young.[113]

> You . . . can perform miracles . . . as regards your employment by touching the hearts of the wayward children entrusted to your care; by rendering your pupils obedient and faithful to the practice of the maxims of the Gospel; by making them pious and recollected in church and during prayers; and, finally, by urging them to be industrious in school and at home[114]

The miracles of which DeLaSalle speaks are the victories over social determinisms which seemingly condemn the children of the poor to a sub-human existence.

As visible angel guardian to students the teacher assumes a responsibility that profoundly influences his personal spiritual accountability.

> On the day of judgment you will answer for them as much as you answer for yourself. You must be convinced of this: that God will begin by making you give an account of their souls before asking you to give an account of your own. For when He entrusted them to you, He made you responsible to procure their salvation with as much attention as your own.[115]

DeLaSalle considered the teacher accountable for his own salvation while rendering an account of his zeal in teaching his students. For DeLaSalle there is a strict correlation between the importance of God's work and the importance of educational activities.[116]

In challenging the teacher with these three conversions DeLaSalle makes use of interesting metaphors describing the role and function of the teacher. The teacher "dresses his student everyday with Jesus Christ." Considering the poor condition of the students' clothing, the image points up the beauty of their personhood. The teacher in his delicate task "writes on the hearts" of his students. DeLaSalle's metaphor for the teacher is "shepherd" who knows his students individually and keeps each one away from physical and moral

Meditations for the Time of Retreat
Word Frequency List

Noun Frequency		Verb Frequency		Modifier Frequency	
187	God	386	to be	75	holy, Saint
96	Jesus Christ	239	to do, to make	53	large, big
90	child	130	to have	28	well, very
45	concern	117	to have to	24	good
43	soul	91	to say	15	principal
41	spirit	65	to instruct	14	necessary
40	man	63	to give		first
37	church	53	to be able to		faithful
	work	51	to render	12	such, like
36	conduct	29	to procure	11	only
	disciple	28	to teach		useful
	thing		to receive	10	bad
34	apostle	25	to entrust		poor
33	grace		to put		
31	Gospel	24	to entrust		
30	Christian		to be necessary		
28	account	23	to look at		
	day		to want		
27	glory	20	to learn		
26	ministry	19	to conduct		
24	manner		to correct		
23	Spirit		to practice		
	means	18	to know		
22	heart		to serve		
	faith		to see		
21	fault	17	to take		
19	angel		to live		
	function	16	to announce		
17	school		to appear		
	maxim	15	to rescue		
16	instruction	14	to animate		
	world		to take back		
15	correction	13	to acquit		
	benefit		to ask		
	light		to engage		
14	heaven		to exercise		
	state(condition)		to speak		
13	example		to carry		
12	effect	12	to commit	Verbs Frequency	
	teacher		to oblige	(continued)	
11	need		to watch over	10	to raise
	knowledge(recognition)				to love
	guardian	11	to help		to imagine
	minister		to supply		to fall
10	building		to contribute		to labor

harm. The teacher is a "shining light" directing his students; a "master builder" who lays the foundations of virtue in the hearts of his students; a "cultivator of young plants."

In 1965 Le Vocabulaire, a word inventory of The Meditations, was published as one step toward establishing a "Lasallian vocabulary" as a tool for further research.[117] A part of the word inventory is presented here as an easy way to obtain an overall impression of DeLaSalle's way of speaking about teacher education in The Meditations. The list is not exhaustive; it is limited to verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs, and it eliminates references to context and to words used fewer than ten times. Each part of speech is arranged in an order of usage frequency. No attempt is made at word analysis. However, a few comments are in order. First, none of the words specifically apply to royalty. Apparently DeLaSalle, although his family was of the upper class, was not moved strongly by the political government of France. Secondly, after the Deity, the noun most frequently used by DeLaSalle is child. Words of obligation have high frequency. Words with positive connotation are more frequent than words with negative connotation. Finally, the inventory is heavy with words of religion.

Spirituality for a Teacher

> Spirituality is the Gospel lived. It is the serious and sustained effort at identifying with the person and example of Jesus Christ of the Gospels within the parameters of one's time in history, the culture in which one is reared, one's vocation in life and one's chronological age.[118]

DeLaSalle does not offer the teacher an abstract ethereal spirituality. He recommends a piety suitable to their employment. The "serious and sustained effort at identifying with the person and example of Jesus Christ of the Gospels" is realized in the context of the teacher's relations with his students.[119] The fundamental Lasallian principle of spirituality for a teacher is to make no distinction between personal sanctification and professional performance.

> Make no distinction between the particular duties of your state and those which refer to your salvation. Be convinced that you will never effect your salvation more assuredly, and that you will never acquire greater perfection, than by fulfilling well the duties of your state.[120]

Teachers should experience a harmony between prayer and school activity, between personal fulfillment and employment, between the spirit of faith and the spirit of zeal.

> What is remarkable in this spirituality is the manner in which it accommodates itself with teaching. . . . The teacher and the religious are one. The religious is a schoolteacher for whom teaching is an apostolate. . . . DeLaSalle leads his disciples towards sanctity by way of the school.[121]

Sanctification is integrated with application to teaching. The principle of no distinction also applies to teaching secular subjects and to the spirit of Christianity.[122]

The principle of no distinction is the key to appreciating the importance of teaching as ministry. The Foreword of the English publication of The Meditations for Time of Retreat tells us:

> DeLaSalle was persuaded, moreover, that many people look upon the teacher's office as one of little consequence, despite the practice and teaching of Christ Himself and of so many illustrious and holy persons who have spoken most highly of this work.[123]

DeLaSalle has the highest conception of the role of primary teacher, and his words describing its dignity are reminiscent of those of Chrysostom, Aquinas, and Gerson.

> The Divine Savior has confided to us a mission analogous to that which the apostles had and which many saints have esteemed as among the most important. What grander mission is there than that of bringing up youth and forming their minds? There is no painter, sculptor nor any other artist that attains the excellence of him who possesses this art.[124]

In this regard DeLaSalle is in line with the spirituality of St. Francis DeSales, author of The Devout Life, for whom every profession is a ministry.[125] The profound concept of the Christian teacher as minister of the Spirit and of the Word of God is magnificently developed in The Meditations.

> Christian spirituality is for him [the teacher] a consecration which transforms into a ministry the work of teaching, and which causes the latter to lose its secular character and acquire a sacred one similar to that of the work of the priest. That is what DeLaSalle wishes to have his brother teachers understand when in his writings, he continually insists on calling the scholastic work of the brother a 'ministry' ... to teach while they sanctify and to sanctify while they teach.[126]

This is the first and the greatest message of DeLaSalle to his teachers regarding their role, "although it has been surprisingly neglected by his commentators."[127] Two quotations further illustrate the pentecostal views of DeLaSalle regarding the ministry of teaching.

> You are engaged in a ministry wherein you have to touch hearts; but you can do this only through the Spirit of God. Beseech him to confer on you today the same grace as he gave his apostles, so that after filling you with his Spirit for your own sanctification, he may confer it on you for the salvation of others also.[128]

> The obligation you are under of instructing children and of bringing them up in a Christian spirit should lead you to be assiduous in prayer in order to obtain from God the graces you need to accomplish your duty properly, to draw down the light you need to enable you to form Jesus Christ in the hearts of the children

> confided to your care, and to inspire them with the Spirit of God.[129]

The inspiration of DeLaSalle's integration of teaching and ministry stimulates pedagogical creativity:

> To transform the school in order that it become, ever increasing, á place of the human and spiritual growth (épanouissement) of the children of the workers and of the poor was in no way for these teachers a 'profane' undertaking without bonding with their faith and total consecration. For DeLaSalle and his teachers it was a work of God.[130]

Other Writings

Three preliminary observations are in order regarding the other writings of DeLaSalle. First, the brother teachers were very uncritical towards what was written. In 1840 when the brothers gathered the writings of DeLaSalle for examination as part of the process of beatification, they displayed an extraordinary negligence.[131] For example, in the sixteen volumes compiled and sent to Rome they included The Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher by Agathon! The Roman authorities declared only thirty-two letters and one other document attributable solely to DeLaSalle. Second, one must ask when DeLaSalle found the time to do much writing. Both Bernard and Blain tell us that he did most of it at night: "He accustomed himself so well to stay awake that he passed nights often either in prayer, in writing books or in taking care of pressing business of the Institute."[132] Third, one must realize that the division of DeLaSalle's writings into textbooks, pedagogical works, and spiritual works is not ironclad; some works overlap the divisions. For example, Duties of a Christian

and Christian Politeness were used as student textbooks and as teacher resources. Most of the spiritual writings are "informed with the pedagogical purpose and are directed to the pedagogical end."[133] Our purpose here is to comment briefly on excerpts relevant to teacher education in The Method of Mental Prayer, The Collection, The Letters, and The Rule.

DeLaSalle does not write about meditation in The Meditations. He had already written The Method of Mental Prayer, a primer for the new teachers on how to meditate. In the Cartesian spirit of the seventeenth century, The Method organizes the meditation process into clearly defined mental acts made easy for the beginner. DeLaSalle typically adapts the available methods of meditation to the needs of his teachers.[134]

The Collection of Short Treatises, one of DeLaSalle's earliest works, contains his most primitive topics and rules regarding teacher education: Considerations for Time of Retreat, On Modesty, On Conversation at Recreation, Directories (to prepare for the weekly interview and the bi-monthly letter). DeLaSalle drew heavily from Jesuit sources when he wrote these four treatises.

> His borrowings from Regulae and Quibus de rebus seem to prove that he was familiar with the Institutum societatis Jesu. . . . It seems then highly probable that this same Instructio of the Jesuits was the origin, at least remotely, of the twenty-one articles on which it was necessary for the Brother to examine himself in rendering his account.[135]

> The Lasallian text is then a free translation, very little augmented, of the Regulae Modestiae of St. Ignatius. All the articles of the source text are found in The Collection, but not in the same order. . . . DeLaSalle took the order that he had already adopted in his Christian Politeness.[136]

The following excerpt of an examination of conscience for teachers is taken from the Considerations for Time of Retreat:

> 2. How do you behave and what moderation do you observe when things which you undertake in your employment do not succeed as you expected or desired?
> 3. What is your weak point in your employment? Is it to be too hasty and eager or to be lifeless and indifferent?
> 4. Are you not taken up with something that prevents you from applying yourself well to the duties of your state and employment?[137]

Below are listed a few examples of the questions in The Directory, which the teacher used to prepare his weekly interview with the director and his monthly letter to DeLaSalle.

> 36. How he has prepared his lessons; whether he has carefully corrected the exercises of the pupils.
> 38. Whether he has devoted his whole care to the improvement of his pupils in reading, writing, and the other branches of instruction; whether, of his own accord, he has promoted any pupils; whether order and silence are observed in his class, and, if not, what is the cause.
> 39. . . . Whether he prepares himself as he should, and so teaches it as to make them understand Christian doctrine, developing the subject matter by many questions and sub-questions suited to their capacity.
> 40. Whether he makes them some pious reflection after morning prayer; whether he prepares it with care.
> 42. How he has acted towards the pupils; whether he has been too severe or too lenient.[138]

The Letters give evidence that DeLaSalle kept a close, personal contact with his teachers, dealing with their problems, not his. He writes "affectionately and sympathetically to rude uneducated men about rheumatism, measles, bread and salt, and woolen socks." More than any of his other writings The Letters reveal his warm humanity and his concern for the temporal welfare of his teachers.[139] To encourage one young teacher having difficulty in class DeLaSalle wrote humorously:

> My very dear brother, in order to teach well, it is necessary to begin courageously to teach badly, for in the beginning one is skillful in nothing.[140]

The first chapter of The Rule of 1705 states the purpose of the society of teachers formed by DeLaSalle. All that DeLaSalle did in teacher education must be considered as means to this end.

> The purpose of the Society is to give a Christian education to children. It is for this reason that schools are conducted so that children, being under the care of the masters from morning till night, may learn from them to live uprightly, be instructed in the truths of their religion, be inspired by Christian maxims, and receive the education they require.
>
> This Society is very necessary because the working classes and the poor, being little instructed and ever occupied in earning their living and supporting their family, are unable to give their children the Christian and moral education which they require. It is in order to procure this advantage to the children of the poor that the Society of the Christian Schools has been founded.[141]

In The Rule of 1705 there are a number of primitive prescriptions relative to the school program, teacher-pupil relationship, and teacher self-control.

> They shall teach reading French, Latin and manuscripts. They shall also teach spelling and arithmetic. They shall, however, put their principal care to teach the morning and evening prayers, the responses at Mass, catechism, the duties of a Christian and the maxims and practices of the Gospel.
>
> They shall love all their students tenderly. However, they shall not be familiar with any of them, and they shall not give them anything through friendship, but only as a recompense. They shall give witness to an equal affection for all their students, more even for the poor than for the rich because they are charged more, by their Institute, to these than to the others.
>
> They shall be careful not to call their students by any injurious name, and they shall never address them other than by their proper names. They shall take particular care never to touch or strike any student with their hand or foot, or to rebuke or push them rudely.[142]

The result of twenty-five years of experience with schools and teachers, The Rule is a charter for a society of teachers. The legal model, which DeLaSalle used, was due, no doubt, to the influence of his family of lawyers.[143] The Rule, however, emphasizes prescriptions of a psychological order for teachers.[144] The chapters on school management cover matters of good sense rather than the special knowledge evident in The Conduct.[145]

Conclusion

In the light of the Part Three of The Conduct, The Meditations, and DeLaSalle's other writings seven principles which characterize Lasallian teacher education can be discerned: integration, association, specialization, vocation (profession), mission, conversion (spirituality), supervision (apprenticeship). These principles undoubtedly reflect DeLaSalle's personal thought and action: his practical approach to problem solving; his genius for adapting appropriate means to the ends of education; his love for children; his spirituality of sanctification through work; his openness to innovation and progress; his commitment in faith to God's providence.[146] These principles mirror DeLaSalle's pedagogical writings insofar as they contain a general and unsystematic formulation of a theology of education: his elevated concept of the pupil and the teacher; his sense of mission and ministry; his realistic view of man's weakened nature; his clear vision of the end of Christian education and the means to attain this end; his insight and use of Scripture, especially

St. Paul.[147] The principles acknowledge DeLaSalle's theological reflections in The Meditations which complement The Conduct: with a teleological view of the end and purpose of the Christian school; with an esteem for the dignity of the teaching profession; with a concept of strict responsibility of the teacher for the salvation of his students; with the spiritual qualities needed by the teacher to touch hearts; with the temporal and eternal rewards of a good teacher.[148] These principles do not reflect a systematic philosophy of education.[149] DeLaSalle deals with what is both Christian and practical in education. Teacher education means Christian teacher education. DeLaSalle is a Christian humanist for whom the natural and the supernatural are inseparable.[150]

DeLaSalle's Christian humanism is the foundation for the first principle of Lasallian teacher education: integration, a fundamental holistic principle of no-distinction. DeLaSalle uses the words "profession" (état) and "work" (emploi) interchangeably, and he makes no distinction between them when he speaks about teaching. In fact, he intentionally confounds the two senses of the word "profession" making it signify without distinction the duties of teaching and the duties of the religious life.[151]

> It is a good rule of conduct to make no distinction between matters proper to one's profession and the question of one's salvation and perfection.[152]
>
> Be convinced that you will never effect your salvation more assuredly or acquire greater perfection than by fulfilling well the duties of your profession, provided you do so with the view of doing the will of God.[153]

DeLaSalle educates teachers to be virtuous men who strive to have God in view in their actions. This spirit of faith consists in regarding things in their integral Christian value.

> It is surprising that most Christians look upon good behavior and politeness as purely human, worldly qualities, and never think of lifting their mind any higher to look upon them as virtues relating to God, our neighbor, and to ourselves.[154]

> The unique feature introduced by DeLaSalle is precisely this: to have originated a spiritual program that contains in it an element capable of sanctifying the work of teaching, a work which in itself is natural. This element operates as principle of intimate integration between what the school attempts to accomplish on the natural level and what it should also accomplish on the supernatural level.[155]

Specialization or professionalism is the second principle characteristic of Lasallian teacher education, a principle for which DeLaSalle had to fight throughout his career. He raised primary teaching from a low class, part-time job for failures and misfits to a vocation for professionals. A teacher is a specialist totally given to his profession (un homme tout entier). He considered second jobs incompatible with teaching. The public interest (baptism, marriages, burials, liturgies) which required the priesthood was also incompatible with the professional services of teaching.[156] If economic necessity and the needs of the Church required that specialization be modified for country schoolteachers, the situation was not considered ideal. The goal of teacher education for DeLaSalle is a master teacher, a specialist who gives his full-time attention, care, and energy to teaching.

The third principle of teacher education is association. The vows of association and obedience were the only vows taken by the

brother teachers. DeLaSalle educates teachers to live in community and to function in school as faculty members. DeLaSalle does not educate teachers to perform alone in their classrooms isolated from one another. The Conduct is a product of the wisdom of teaching in association. The teachers in association form a school community which is a support group and a catalyst for progress in the school. Association provides badly needed stability in the schools. Country schoolteachers who, from economic necessity, are deprived of the support and stimulation of teaching in association, are encouraged and welcomed to return each year in retreat and to renew the association they shared during their education.

The fourth principle characteristic of Lasallian teacher education is vocation, a participation in the ministry of the Church. DeLaSalle imparts to his teachers a sense of dignity and pride in their work.

> It often happens that work which men think unattractive produces more real good for people that the most highly sought after professions. Consider your work as one of the most productive and most highly regarded in the Church.[157]

> An essential contribution of DeLaSalle to teacher formation includes his insisting on indoctrination in the philosophical and the theological bases for respect and esteem for the teaching profession.[158]

The sense of vocation, is a source of teacher dedication. The teaching profession calls forth the best in the teacher. Mercenary motives are not sufficient for the demands made upon the primary teacher. The ardent zeal, the asceticism of duty, the tender concern necessary in a primary teacher derive from the love for children, the social need,

and the sublimity of the teaching profession. In the words of Bossuet: "Such is the incomprehensible seriousness of human life, that it demands the most generous fidelity in the accomplishment of professional duty."

The fifth characteristic of Lasallian teacher education is that it communicates a sense of mission that is apostolic and relevant. In the seventeenth century as in the twentieth century primary education answers a fundamental need of the individual, of society, and of the Church. Primary teaching is a missionary response to the crying need of the poor to eliminate the evils of ignorance in their lives and to acquire skills for economic advancement. DeLaSalle guarantees that every child has a basic right to an education, a right which is proven ineffective for the poor without well educated teachers. He conveys to his teachers an awareness of the social need for education and of the importance of their role in its realization. In the limited program offered in the Christian School we encounter DeLaSalle's preoccupation to teach the children of the poor the essentials of human knowledge, the habit of correct manners, the fundamental moral and religious values.

> You ought to join, in your employment, zeal for the good of the church with that for the good of the state, in which your disciples begin to be members and in the future will be more perfect members. You should procure the good of the church in making them veritable Christians, in rendering them docile to the truths of the faith and to the maxims of the Gospel. You should procure the good of the state in teaching them to read and to write, and all which is of your ministry in regard to their external behavior.[159]

In this regard DeLaSalle made use of whatever is good and useful in the available pedagogical methods and material. He and the brothers

examine the best methods, test them, improve upon them, and standardize them -- until a better way is found. Teacher education is not predetermined by a set theory; the educational needs of the poor children direct the program. Only what works lasts in the Christian Schools. Only what is relevant is taught: practical religion, basic language skills in the vernacular, occupational skills. For DeLaSalle the most important quality in a candidate to the teaching profession is a deep personal commitment to the relevancy of Christian education. DeLaSalle does not require that religious vows be taken by his teachers; commitment to the need for education is sufficient.

The sixth characteristic of Lasallian teacher education is apprenticeship under supervision. Teacher education is an initiation into an art by means of directed practice. The supervised teaching apprenticeship focuses, corrects and channels the energy and enthusiasm of the new teacher. The several years of teacher education are not spent in theoretical study; they are spent in application to the four means available to the teacher for educating children: prayer, good example, vigilance, and instruction. The months of novitiate provide apprenticeship in prayer and good example. The months of practice teaching provide apprenticeship in vigilance and instruction. In the seventeenth century the concept of apprenticeship was applied to all levels of employment and learning. Even King Louis XIV studied and worked with industry and self control at the craft of being king (métier de roi).[160] The concept of apprenticeship applied also to learning by the children who were kept busy doing exercises

under the supervision of the teacher. The teacher education apprenticeship principle guarantees that the teacher does not ask the students to do anything that he himself does not also practice.

> Do you teach anything to your disciples that you do not practice yourself? When you tell them to be modest, are you so first of all? When you recommend them to pray with piety, do you do it also? Have you the same charity for them that you wish that they have for their companions?[161]

The last principle characteristic of DeLaSalle's teacher education is conversion, a profound change experienced by the teacher in relation to his students, enabling him to touch their hearts. The zeal and love of the teacher is born of his encounter with his God. The teacher learns to leave God for God, the God who calls for the God who sends. The teacher never goes before God alone and he never returns alone. The Lasallian teacher is not the master of his students; he is an older brother in intimate concern for each of his students whom he loves.

The seven principles characteristic of DeLaSalle's teacher education are alluded to, in a general way, in the Papal Brief which declares DeLaSalle the Patron of Christian Teachers:

> To form teachers for their important mission he established colleges which catered especially for village schoolmasters. The origin of normal colleges for teachers, now to be found everywhere, must truly be attributed to him. So great, moreover, was the esteem of this eminent pioneer in education for the office of teacher that he would not permit the brothers founded by him to become priests lest they should be turned aside from their principal function, and he was convinced that their vocation could lead them to authentic sanctity.[162]

The next chapter will study the in-service phase of teacher education described in Part One of The Conduct, wherein the teacher, educated in principle, learns what to teach and how to teach it.

CHAPTER IV

PART ONE OF THE CONDUCT: SUBJECT MATTER AND PRINCIPLES OF INSTRUCTION

Introduction

The beginning teacher learns in Part One of The Conduct what he has to do and what he can expect at every minute of the school day. The daily schedule, which lists what is done in school from its opening until its closing, provides the outline for the ten chapters in Part One. These ten chapters are regrouped into six sections in Chapter Four of this dissertation and studied for the direction, guidance, and support they give to the the beginning teacher. Section one investigates classroom management and curriculum organization as the first skills taught the beginning teacher. The Lasallian units (class, lesson, order, and place) are analyzed as the coordinates governing school time, location, promotion, and subject matter. The inspector of schools, whose formative role was mentioned briefly in Chapter Three, is the major supervisor and guide to the new teacher learning classroom management. Section two studies DeLaSalle's position on teaching reading in French, instead of in Latin, a position which put the beginning teacher on the cutting edge of the primary phase in the seventeenth century Quarrel between the

Ancients and the Moderns. Claude Fleury, contemporary of DeLaSalle and tutor to princes, is proposed as a best seventeenth century exponent of an educational theory applicable to DeLaSalle's instructional practices. Section three groups together the teaching of writing, arithmetic, and spelling and illustrates the instructional demands made upon the teacher in the context of Lasallian classroom and curriculum organization. Section four presents the chapter on the catechism as a short pedagogical treatise on the art of questioning. Section five considers the psychological, social, and moral atmosphere (ambiance) of the Lasallian classroom as creating a holy place pleasant and conducive to learning. The last section attempts to summarize Part One by means of the following eight principles of instruction: preparation, organization, apprenticeship, questioning, utility, socialization, vernacular, and religion.

Classroom and Curriculum Organization

Part One of The Conduct describes the school day so that the beginning teacher knows beforehand exactly what he has to do and what he can expect of the students. DeLaSalle's existential approach to teacher education is in sharp contrast with the theoretical treatises offered the beginning teacher in The Parish School.[1] The daily school schedule which provides the outline of Part One is as follows:

Daily Schedule of the Christian School

7:30 - 8:00	Opening. Preparation for lessons: alone or in student directed groups.	(Chapter One)
8:00 - 8:30	Morning prayer and breakfast: lesson review.	(Chapter Two)
8:30 -10:00	Lessons in reading.	(Chapter Three)
	Lessons in writing.	(Chapter Four)
	Lessons in arithmetic.	(Chapter Five)
	Lessons in spelling.	(Chapter Six)
10:00-11:30	Reflection prayer.	(Chapter Seven)
	Mass at local parish church.	(Chapter Eight)
	Home. Free time.	
1:00 - 1:30	Preparation for lessons: alone or in small student directed groups.	
1:30 - 2:00	Prayer and lunch: lesson review.	
2:00 - 3:30	Lessons in reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling.	
3:30 - 4:00	Catechism lesson.	(Chapter Nine)
4:00 - 4:30	Examination of conscience. Evening Prayer and Song. Dismissal.	(Chapter Ten)

Classroom management is the first thing the beginning teacher has to learn. He receives much practical guidance in learning to be organized. The Conduct sets the stage and spells out exactly what he has to know. The beginning teacher does not operate in a vacuum. The school site is selected to keep the noise and distraction of the streets at a minimum and to allow the maximum of sunshine and fresh air. The size and configuration of the classroom for approximately fifty students is a twenty to twenty-five foot square, not a narrow rectanglar shape. The inspector of schools sees to it that each

teacher is assigned to a classroom properly furnished with the necessary teaching materials. From the beginning of his educational undertaking DeLaSalle encouraged the brother teachers to publish their own textbooks. The inspector of schools supervises the placement and promotion of students and the performance of the teacher in his classroom duties. However, the supervision by the inspector of schools does not replace that of the classroom teacher: "Both of them shall apply themselves dependently and cooperatively to maintain good order in their schools."

The first technique of classroom management is control of time. Symbolically, Part One begins with the opening of school and ends with the closing of school. Between these terminals no instant is left to chance.[2] Students are busy every minute with an occupation to be mastered. The distribution of time for the lessons is proportional to the number of students and the difficulty of the exercises. For example, in a writing class of fifty students the distribution could be:

12 reading the third book	:	1hr in a.m.--1/4 in p.m.
13 reading Latin	:	1/2 in a.m.--3/4 in p.m.
25 writing (10 reading registers)	:	1/2 in a.m.--1hr in p.m.

The inspector of schools is responsible for the time distribution and for arranging that all classes finish at the same time. A formula which weighs the variables and calculates the time needed is spelled out in the rule of the inspector of schools. The teacher makes the appropriate extension or reduction in the quantity of material assigned and the duration of the recitation.[3] For example, if there are

forty students in the beginning class, they are all able to read every morning and afternoon according to the following distribution:

> Each of twelve students is easily able to read three times a line on the alphabet chart in a half hour.
> Each of ten students is easily able to read three lines on the syllables chart in a half hour.
> Each of eight students is easily able to spell three lines in the Syllabaire in a half hour.
> Each of ten students is easily able to read and spell, in turn, three lines in the second book in a half hour.[4]

During the classical period of the seventeenth century form and style were supreme. Man imposed his order and design on nature to conform to classical norms. The formal gardens of Versailles are examples of man's imposition of geometrical designs and shapes on nature. This classical mentality is operative in DeLaSalle's organization of the Christian Schools. DeLaSalle, as it were, imposes a Cartesian grid of pedagogical coordinates upon the domain of the classroom whereby space and time are organized into learning units. In mathematics DesCartes had united the points of geometry to the functions of algebra; in pedagogy DeLaSalle joins the points of time and space in school very precisely (jusqu'à l'atome) to a learning function. Every student is assigned a particular appropriate place, identifying the "order of the lesson" the occupant is studying. The attention and the performance expected from the student comes from the identification of his place in the spatial organization of the classroom and from the intervention of the teacher. Considering that there are fifty or more students in the classroom, such positioning is essential in identifying each student's needs. For DeLaSalle pedagogy is very much a science of distribution.

> The creation of a school which assigned each pupil a place in an organized classroom was the privileged means for the transformation of the education of children in the seventeenth century. Regular attendance was required at lessons of which the content was hierarchized in such a way that learning became a mounting little by little on the ladder of knowledge."[5]

Body position, posture, and motion are also made part of the pedagogical organization in the classroom. The disposition of the student's body identified his particular occupation or need (standing, sitting, hat on, hat off). Students are seated, holding their books in both hands or watching the alphabet chart with arms folded. Students who recite the same lesson have their hats off. Each student rises to recite before the previous student is finished in order to be ready and not waste time. The student puts his hat back on when he is finished. All movement away from one's seat is done only with the permission of the teacher. All class movement is accomplished as a troop in ordered pairs.

> They will leave in order of the benches. . . . The first in a bench will take the second as his companion, and so on with the others. . . . They will walk two by two in a line. . . . They will not go too near the wall, the shops or the gutter, and they will walk immediately behind the ones who precede them with only two paces between them. . . . The teacher will take care that the pupils are ranged in proper order in the church and that they are placed two by two, one pair behind another. . . They will be ranged in such a manner that those in the same row or rank, both lengthwise and crosswise, will be exactly beside or behind one another in a straight line. . . . They will be accustomed to range themselves without the teachers being obliged to attend to them.[6]

DeLaSalle's classroom organization and school schedule were in contrast with the prevailing primary school scene in which the teacher, in the midst of chaos, tutored individual students in turn and at his desk.[7] In seventeenth century France primary education was

still in the grip of the individual method wherein teaching was thought possible only by a tête-a-tête between teacher and pupil. However, an anonymous pamphlet, Avis touchant les petites écoles, issued around 1680, makes a plea to do away with the individual method.

> In our colleges we find pupils of the same capacity placed in the same class. Why is not the same done in our primary schools?[8]

The method of teaching in which students were distributed into groups on the basis of a hierarchy of subject matter was known as the "Paris method" (modus parisiensis), the method in vogue at the University of Paris from the fifteenth century. The Brothers of the Common Life had been among the first to employ such a method of division on the primary level. The Jesuits perfected the method on the secondary level.[9] The method of teaching primary students in groups a la DeLaSalle became known as the simultaneous method, although he never used the name. Clearly the simultaneous method is not original with DeLaSalle although the brother teachers did much to perfect and to popularize it on the primary school level.

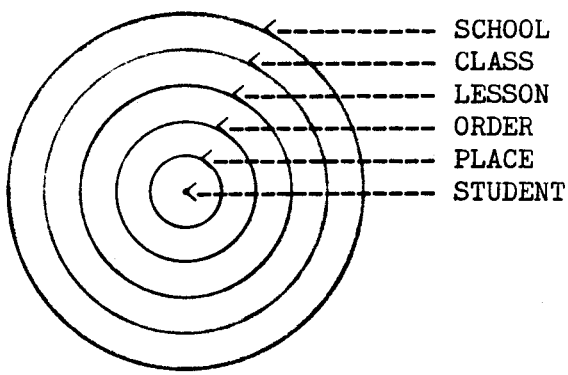
> The Conduct is a veritable charter of the simultaneous method of teaching applied to primary education. It is an embodiment, in clear and precise language, of the mechanics of this simple and natural method of teaching a group of students at the same time.[10]

DeLaSalle's simultaneous method is not a method of instruction in the same sense in which one speaks of the lecture method, the Socratic method, the project method. The simultaneous "mode" of teaching has to do with the organization of the students in relation to the teacher. The essence of the simultaneous method consists in

this: "The pupils follow the same lesson, and the teacher, in correcting one, corrects all."[11] The method requires that children of the same ability be grouped together and that all the children follow the same lesson in the same book.

> With the first stroke of his pen DeLaSalle outlaws the helter-skelter situation which prevailed under the individual method and which permitted, in one classroom, pupils of great ranges in ages and in attainments. To call order out of chaos, DeLaSalle's first principle of simultaneous teaching was enunciated -- classify the pupils in different grades according to their abilities. This was a bold step to take for it meant the complete reorganization of classroom management and school administration.[12]

The Lasallian pedagogical grid patterns the topography of the Christian Schools into the following units: class, lesson, order, and place. It is the responsibility of the inspector of schools in consultation with the teacher to assign an incoming student to an appropriate class, lesson, order, and place. The logical relation of these units, pictured in Euler Circles, would appear as follows:



Class is more of an administrative unit than a teaching unit. DeLaSalle chose not to form new schools by fission but rather to reorganize the existing school into a hierarchy of smaller administrative units of fifty to sixty students called classes. DeLaSalle uses

class to mean classroom and the group of students in the same classroom. In the schools of the sister teachers, class meant the group of students who were studying the same subject matter, and there could be as many as three classes in the same room. A similar breakdown, called "bands," had been employed by DeBathencourt and Demia. DeLaSalle never speaks of more than one class in the same room. Ideally a school had three classrooms: a class for beginning lessons; a class for those studying the intermediate lessons; and a class for advanced or writing lessons. As much as possible the number of students in each class is balanced, and the intermediate class is usually the largest. The inspector of schools distributes students into the classes so that all those in the same "order of the lesson" are in the same room. Not all the students in the same class study the same lesson. A class ordinarily numbers fifty to sixty students grouped into four to six different lessons. Nineteenth century historians of education unfortunately qualified DeLaSalle's method as simultaneous, as if all the students in the class followed the same lesson. Nothing could be further from the truth. It was only later, as the number of students increased, that the class was composed solely of students studying the same lesson.

It is interesting to speculate on the implications for the French Revolution DeLaSalle's success in the education of the poor may have had. On the one hand class, as used by DeLaSalle, accentuates upward mobility by learning. The class is not homogeneous and static. Upward mobility through personal achievement takes place within the

class and between the classes. During his career in a school of three classes, a student moves from the lowest class to the highest class. DeLaSalle insists on promotion based on individual performance. Though the spirit of society was very "class conscious," DeLaSalle does not separate the rich and poor in school. He insists on behavior, politeness, and cleanliness from the poor students as well as the rich, and he "renders approachable those for whom it appeared impossible." Responsibilities are assigned students on the basis of knowledge and good conduct, not wealth or birth. If perfect equilibrium can not be kept, the brother teachers are to prefer the poor children who have greater needs to those whose families have money. In this way DeLaSalle might well have contributed to removing barriers which divided French society. On the other hand the Christian School does not draw students away from their milieu. It arms them for success in future occupations, usually those of their fathers. The Christian School is not a university or college in miniature. More than a place in which one studies, the Christian School is a place in which a child exercises himself in skills. It takes on the allure of an apprenticeship.

> The Conduct aimed only at elementary teaching. The teacher learned the skill of showing (montrant) the student how to read, write and to count. His teaching was more a matter of exercising the students as in apprenticeship than the awakening of the mind or of a cultural awareness. The acquisition of knowledge came more from a multiplicity of exercises and from their judicious progression than from logical rational exposes." [13]

DeLaSalle introduces reform by transforming the manner of showing (montrer) the students what they have to know and by keeping them in school well beyond their ninth year.

> The originality of DeLaSalle consisted in establishing little by little a strict continuity in the methods and the programs in his schools for children who were from six years old to about fourteen years old.[14]

The teaching unit is the lesson. A teacher of a class of fifty or sixty students commonly teaches four to six different lessons with eight to twelve students in each lesson. The lessons are exercises under the direction (conduite) of a teacher who is also model and guide. Much importance is attached to matching each student's aptitude and achievement with the appropriate lesson.

> It is very important never to put any student in a lesson of which he is not yet capable, because, otherwise, one is putting him in a situation of not being able to learn anything, and he is in danger of remaining all his life in ignorance. This is why one ought not to have regard for age or size at the time of placement or promotion, but only of capacity.[15]

The exercises of the lessons are carefully broken down into levels of difficulty so that little by little the student mounts the ladder of knowledge. Learning the lessons means moving from mastery of the simple to mastery of the complex. Whereas The Parish School distinguishes six steps in learning to read, and Demia lists seven steps, DeLaSalle breaks reading down into nine lessons. Appropriate learning material corresponds to each lesson uniform for every student at the same moment on the course. DeLaSalle's use of the word "lesson" (leçon) in The Conduct undergoes an evolution. At first DeLaSalle uses lesson exclusively in its etymological meaning: an exercise in reading (lecture). Then by extension he uses it as a division in the

class of students who are reading the same exercise. Only in Chapter Five does DeLaSalle begin using lesson in the sense of a general school exercise. In light of this evolution DeLaSalle's inconsistency at times is understandable. For example he says: "In the lesson of arithmetic, there shall be students in different lessons."[16]

In reality neither class nor lesson are the units of work, but rather the small homogeneous subdivisions of the lesson called orders. It is the "order of the lesson" in the Lasallian system that is an attempt at homogeneous grouping.[17] Translators, using contemporary terminology, have rendered "lesson" (leçon) into English as "grade," and "order" (ordre) as "section." The translation makes the divisions clear and is apparently helpful, but it seems to shift away from the learning process upon which lesson focuses as the basis for DeLaSalle's organization.

> Reading: nine lessons of three orders each.
> Writing: two lessons of six orders each.
> Arithmetic: five lessons of two orders each. (1705 ed.)

Each order numbers approximately five to ten students at the same level of difficulty in the lesson. Promotions are made from one order of the lesson to the next higher order. With a few exceptions the students in the same lesson are divided into three orders: beginner, intermediate, and advanced. These three orders were familiar in the apprenticeship programs of the crafts in the seventeenth century. The distinction between the orders of the lesson is not based upon time, although there is a recommended length of time to be spent in each order, but upon degree of successful learning. The distinction is a

matter of mastery of material. Beginners are not only those starting but also those who make many mistakes. Intermediates are those who make few mistakes. Advanced are those who ordinarily make no mistakes. For example, the nine lessons in reading are organized into a three year program with twenty-two orders leading to the mastery of reading.

Three Year Reading Program of Twenty-Two Orders

Lessons:	Time:	Orders:
Reading the alphabet chart:	two months	(no orders)
Reading the syllable chart:	one month	(no orders)
Reading the Syllabaire:	five months	(three orders)
Spelling in the First Book:	three months	(three orders)
Spelling in the Second Book:	three months	(three orders)
Reading in the Second Book:	three months	(three orders)
Reading in the Third Book:	six months	(three orders)
Reading Latin in the Psalter:	six months	(three orders)
Reading Christian Politeness:	two or more months	(two orders)

If twenty-four students are studying the alphabet chart and twelve students are studying the syllable chart, they are arranged equally at three benches with eight "alphabeters (a)" and four "syllablers (s)" at each bench. The farthest bench is for the advanced; the closest is for the beginners. The position of the students (constellation scolaire) studying the two lessons according to orders would be as follows:

Advanced bench:	a a a a a a a a s s s s
Intermediate bench:	a a a a a a a a s s s s
Beginning bench:	a a a a a a a a s s s s

The Lasallian classroom is highly organized, but it is not mechanical. The order and efficiency of the Christian School is not the efficiency of factory machine productivity. The effect of

DeLaSalle's organization is not mass production. Just the reverse. The teacher does not master the pedagogical significance of the spatial and temporal coordinates of the class solely to control the group. The purpose of DeLaSalle's detailed classroom management is to facilitate the effective functioning of the teacher in relation to the individual needs of the students. For example, in the writing lessons the students are not placed according to orders but according to physical size so that each is at a table best suited for him. The classroom and the curriculum organization make for a multiplicity which provides for individual needs. The efficiency of the simultaneous method frees the teacher to deal more effectively with the individual student. DeLaSalle's purpose for classroom management and curriculum organizaton, is to establish psychological contact with children in their real lives.[18] To effect this end DeLaSalle brings about an internal transformation in the character of the primary school by concerning himself with the effective organization and operation of the schools, by transforming teaching methods so that the schools served the needs of the students.

> Like Erasmus, Bacon, Locke and Smith, DeLaSalle believed that "classing" could, at the same time, serve the interests of the individual student."[19]

A new student is never placed by chance. The inspector of schools, having examined his background and ability, assigns the student with order and prudence in a class according to the total number of students returning to school; in a lesson according to his

academic needs; in a certain order of the lesson according to his ability; in a place according to his unique merit and needs.

> Every child should be placed with order and prudence. A child whose parents are negligent, and who is not kept clean, should be separated from those who are clean and have no lice. A nervous child should be between two who are calm and controlled. A troublemaker should be either alone or between two whose piety is assured. A talker should be between two who are quiet and attentive.[20]

The most advanced are farthest away from the teacher; the least advanced are closest. New students are placed near studious students who are able to help them.

Promotions are made monthly and are always based upon individual performance and needs. There are no automatic promotions.

> In order that no teacher may be mistaken in regard to the fitness of his pupils for promotion, all the teachers will examine, toward the end of each month, on a day fixed by the Inspector of Schools, those pupils in all lessons and orders who should be ready for promotion at the end of that month.[21]

Examinations are not designed simply to provide grades; they are intended to verify that the particular course of study of the order has been assimilated. The monthly examination for promotion assigns a terminal task to indicate whether the student has achieved mastery. Promotion in writing, for example, is based upon the student's work of the previous two weeks and upon a half-hour writing examination. For promotion in arithmetic the inspector of schools examines the student's notebook and assigns him the most difficult rule of that order to demonstrate and to prove.[22] The next order of the lesson is not begun unless mastery is attained in the preceeding task. A linear pedagogical time is thus produced leading to a final point which

recapitulates all the learning of earlier moments.[23] However, the social, psychological, and even economic interest of the child also enter the decision for promotion.

> With regard to young children with quick minds and ready memories, one must not move them up continually, when they are capable of it, because otherwise they would not attend school for a long enough time. This is, nonetheless, what would be desirable and what one must try to obtain as far as possible, without upsetting the parents. One must, however, avoid the two extremes: for it is not good to keep a child a long time on one lesson lest he, and his parents, become disgusted with it; just as it is not fitting to promote too quickly those who are too young or too immature, or who are not capable of it, for the reasons which have already been given.
>
> Those who have shown a lack of self-control or piety or who have been careless and lazy in studying and in following lessons will be changed only with great reluctance and will be examined more rigorously and severely than the others. If they fall into the same ways the following month, they will not be changed no matter how clever they may be.
>
> Those who have been absent for five full days will not change grades at the end of the month even though they would otherwise be capable of so doing.
>
> (For an older student who has had a limited time to learn to write), the teacher shall distribute the time in proportion to the time available and the student shall be promoted at the end of the particular time whether he has mastered the material or not.[24]

The monthly promotion provides frequent opportunity for advancement. If a student is not promoted, he does not get discouraged; rather, he is encouraged to work to move up next month. Failure at a monthly examination is not a matter of despair but of the need for conversion. DeLaSalle is very concerned that the teacher be sensitive to those who are not promoted. The teacher is to prepare the student for lack of promotion and to try to convince him that it is in his best interest.

> The teachers will take care, some time before the day upon which the promotions are to be made, to inform those pupils whom the Inspector of Schools has agreed not to promote -- either for their own good, because they are too young, or for the good of the lesson or order, in order that there be some who can support the others. They will do this in such a manner that these pupils will be content to remain in the lesson or in the order where they are.
>
> They will persuade them by means of some reward, by assigning to them some office, such, for instance, as Head of the Class, and making them understand that it is better to be first, or among the first, in a lower lesson than the last in a more advanced one.[25]

When a student fails to be promoted three times due to laziness:

> He shall be placed at a particular bench, up against the back wall and apart from the rest of the class, which shall be called the Bench of the Ignorant. The student shall remain there until he works and is promoted.[26]

An interesting theoretical observation, although somewhat misapplied, has been made about DeLaSalle's primary classroom organization of teaching and why it did not catch on more quickly in France.[27] The theory is that methods of schooling follow methods of economic production and that the means of production in seventeenth century France had not changed sufficiently to canonize batch production in schools. On the one hand DeLaSalle was ahead of his time with classroom organization, but he had to settle for the craftsman's workshop as economic model and its pedagogical analogue, the apprenticeship. The British "simultaneous system" of Lancaster and Bell in the nineteenth century, on the other hand, grew out of a mechanical world view, economic liberalism, and the industrial revolution.[28] Its economic model was the factory and its pedagogical analogue, instructional technology. Whereas the economics of the nineteenth century justified the use of the metaphor of the machine to

bring order and efficiency to charity schooling, the economics of the seventeenth century sanctioned for DeLaSalle's school the organization by class and the metaphor of the ladder.

Although DeLaSalle's efforts in seventeenth century France were directed to the same ends as those of Lancaster-Bell in nineteenth century England, namely the reorganization of pre-existing charity schools to cope more adequately with the salvation of the growing population of urban poor, pedagogically speaking, the two systems were profoundly different. The classroom management of DeLaSalle is as different from the Lancastrian method as the simultaneous method is from the individual method. Unfortunately so much has been made of the efficiency aspects of DeLaSalle's simultaneous method over the individual method that DeLaSalle's concern that the teacher keep a personal contact with each student has often been overlooked. Ironically the similarities of the Lasallian and the Lancastrian methods, for the most part, stem from the pedagogical procedures which DeLaSalle borrowed from his predecessors and contemporaries, especially DeBathencourt and Demia. The disciples of DeLaSalle resisted for eighteen years (1815-1833) the efforts of the French ministry to impose the Lancastrian method upon the Christian Schools.[29]

Reading in the Vernacular

> The most important changes in the conflict between the pedagogy of classical humanism and the pedagogy of the "enlightenment" took place at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Mercantilism, with Cartesian rationalism and Baconian empiricism, led to utilitarian and pragmatic criteria of education.[30]

The seventeenth century was a time of crisis for traditional education. In a broader context, the educational crisis was part of a "crisis of the European conscience." In France between 1616 and 1715 a new manner of educating children was manifested. Corporal punishment became less severe, children had to attend school until they were fourteen years old, the Copernican theory was finally accepted, and French came into its own.

> This revolution passed unnoticed at first by contemporaries, and later by historians. However, the history of education has not known a more profound change. Beside it, the educational theories and innovations of the following centuries are insignificant (ne sont que peu de chose).[31]

DeLaSalle and his brother teachers played a significant role in the creation of the new pedagogy on the primary level. Teaching to read the vernacular rather than Latin had been started by the Huguenots in French primary schools for the religious training of the common people. The significantly different justification of DeLaSalle's sponsorship of the vernacular was psychological and educational rather than socio-religious.[32] Lasallian pedagogy was based on a new conception of the parish school, the objective of which was no more church service and worthy celebration of the liturgical offices but preparation of poor children for professions that would permit them to earn a livelihood in a civil (honnête) and Christian manner.[33] Of course, DeLaSalle continued to teach the reading of prayers and liturgical responses in Latin but only after the students knew how to read French. One of DeLaSalle's more revolutionary pedagogical statements is this:

> They shall only put into this lesson (reading Latin) those who shall know how to read French perfectly, distinctly, intelligently.[34]

With the closure of the Protestant schools at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, DeLaSalle's Christian Schools became the primary agents for the vernacular in the popular schools.[35]

The reading innovation of DeLaSalle had three consequences, which must have affected teacher education. First, DeLaSalle clearly put his brother teachers on the side of the Moderns in the primary phase of the Quarrel. Second, the innovations had nationalistic undertones, and DeLaSalle's efforts were seen as a gradual victory of French for the French.[36] Third, DeLaSalle was rejecting verbalism and was taking a progressive step towards increasing reading with understanding. The beginning teacher was not preparing for an ordinary teaching position. His function put him into the thick of things, and on the cutting edge of the Quarrel. People were talking about his new kind of primary program, and professional teachers were critically watching and evaluating his work. The brother teacher had to be very careful what he said and wrote in and out of school so as not to betray his cause. Teaching to read in the vernacular was more than a pedagogical technique. It was a stance against the common practice of the educational establishment. Not backed by custom and authority, the new usage of the vernacular had to be bolstered by strong personal conviction. The teacher had to be convinced that reading in the vernacular served the interests and needs of the poor students, and he had to be prepared to stand up against ridicule and attack for this

conviction. The absolute condition of the brother teachers' stand against Latin as stated in The Rule has to be seen in this light. They were convinced that their method was the only method beneficial to the poor, and they were willing to stake their livelihood on it.

> The brothers who may have learned the Latin language shall make no use thereof, after having entered the Society; they shall not be permitted to teach it to any person whatever, and they shall act as though they were entirely unacquainted with it.
>
> The brothers shall not be permitted to read any Latin book, nor to speak a single word of Latin, without an absolute necessity, and then with the orders of the Brother Director; as, for instance, when an occasion would present itself of speaking to a stranger who would be ignorant of the vernacular, but conversant with the Latin language.
>
> There shall be no Latin books in any of the houses.
>
> If a book was printed in both Latin and French on opposite pages, "only those over age thirty, who had no liking for Latin, could be given permission to read the French part.[57]

DeLaSalle was an innovator and a reformer. He was trying to set up a new way of seeing education by cutting the bond between learning and Latin. Typical of a reformer DeLaSalle allowed no halfway measures.

Actually there were two innovations with regard to the use of the vernacular in the schools in the seventeenth century. On the secondary level, where the language of instruction was Latin, the Oratorians and the Port Royal schools introduced French as the language of instruction and discourse. On the primary level, where instruction had always been in the vernacular, but where the children were required to read in Latin, DeLaSalle taught the children to read in French. Both vernacular innovations, in instruction by the Oratorians and Port Royal on the secondary level and in the order of

reading by DeLaSalle on the primary level, were part of a general movement away from verbalism in education towards realism.

> As the mother tongue had found its place as a language of instruction in secondary education, so now it had transformed and vitalized the primary school. This meant, at last, in a richer sense, "real things," the substitution of "realism" for "verbalism."[38]

When the bishop of Chartres, unaccustomed to DeLaSalle's procedure of teaching children to read French first, wanted him to change, DeLaSalle wrote a Memoir on the Vernacular, wherein he explains the reasons for the new practice.

1. Knowing how to read French is far more useful to all children than knowing how to read Latin.

2. Since French is their native language, it is incomparably easier for them to learn how to read it than to read Latin, given that they know the one and do not know the other.

3. Consequently, it takes far less time to teach children to read French than to teach them to read Latin.

4. Ability to read French facilitates learning how to read Latin. The reverse is not true as experience shows. The reason for this is that to read Latin properly, all one needs to do is to articulate each syllable and enunciate each word correctly. This is easy when the child knows how to spell and to read French. It follows that anyone who knows how to read French well can easily learn to read Latin while, on the contrary, when much time has been spent learning to read Latin first, still more is required to learn how to read French.

5. Why does it take so long to learn to read Latin? As already mentioned, Latin words are just sounds to people who do not understand them. Hence, it is difficult for them to omit none of the syllables and to spell words, the meaning of which escapes them.

6. Why should people learn to read Latin when they will never make any use of this language during their lives? What use do the children of either sex, who come to the Christian schools, have for the Latin language? Nuns who must recite the Divine Office in Latin need to know how to read it well; but of a hundred girls who frequent the tuition free schools there is scarcely one who may become a choir nun in a monastery. So, too, of a

hundred boys in the Brothers' schools, how many will later on wish to study the Latin language? Even if there were several of them, should they be favored at the expense of the rest?

7. Experience shows that those children who frequent the Christian schools do not stay there very long. They do not attend classes long enough to learn how to read both Latin and French well. As soon as they are old enough to start working, their parents withdraw them; or else they stop coming because they have to earn a living. Under these circumstances, if we start by teaching them how to read Latin, the following inconveniences will result: they will quit school before learning how to read French, or at least to read it well. When they leave, they will know how to read Latin only imperfectly. In a short time they will have forgotten what they learned, with the result that they will never really know how to read at all, either French or Latin.

8. The most serious drawback is that they almost never learn their catechism. For, in fact, when the children begin by learning to read French, they know how to read fairly well by the time they leave school. Knowing how to read easily, they can learn Christian doctrine by themselves. They can study it in the printed catechisms. They can sanctify Sundays and feasts by reading good books and by reciting well-written prayers in French. Whereas, if they leave the Christian and gratuitous schools knowing how to read Latin only, and that badly, all their lives they will remain ignorant of their duties as Christians.

9. Finally, experience shows that those who do not understand Latin, who have not pursued further studies and acquired familiarity with the Latin tongue, especially the common people and, a fortiori, the poor who come to the Christian schools, never succeed in reading Latin well, and make fools of themselves when they try to read it in the hearing of those who understand that language. It is, therefore, completely useless to waste time teaching people to read a language which they will never use.[59]

The good bishop agreed with DeLaSalle.

In the Memoir on the Vernacular DeLaSalle gives three reasons in defense of his position: the child's interest, social utility, school experience. The difficulties of spelling or pronunciation are not the question here. It is a matter of interest and motivation.

Although French is more difficult to read and to pronounce than Latin, French has the incomparable advantage over Latin of not being a dead language: "What is the point of reading Latin for people who will never use it thoughout their lives?"[40] DeLaSalle overturns the accepted practice by contrasting the data of his own pedagogical observation against a logic based on a theory of language. DeLaSalle justifies his pedagogical innovation solely on the basis of common sense and the teachers' experience. In the memoir DeLaSalle makes no reference to precedent; he cites no authority.

> The truth would seem to be that in his determination to break with the established usage, DeLaSalle followed his own good judgment, quite independently of outside influences."[41]

A critical analysis of the vocabulary of the Memoir on the Vernacular indicates that the text is a composite. The first part of the argument is made up of four points and progresses at a rapid pace. The second part, made up of five parts, repeats itself. There is a definite difference in style between the two parts. Terms and expressions in the second part are of doubtful Lasallian origin. It would appear that the first four reasons are directly from DeLaSalle and that Blain entered into the elaboration of the last five reasons.[42] In light of the analysis we can better understand Blain's statement.

> We have thought it necessary to offer these arguments in order to silence the many people who keep objecting that, contrary to common practice, the free schools begin by teaching the pupils to read French before teaching them to read Latin.[43]

In general the argument of the Moderns in favor of the mother tongue for instruction and for reading was that it is natural in

education to pass from what is known and clear to what is unknown and obscure.

> The Greeks did not learn any foreign language. Even the Romans learned Latin before they learned Greek. To learn Latin before the mother tongue is to want to ride a horse before knowing how to walk.[44]

Other arguments by the Solitary Sages of Port Royal reinforce DeLaSalle's position.

> The hapless child was made to learn words by heart before he had enough knowledge of Latin to know the meaning of what he said. The result was an enormous waste of time and absolutely unnecessary increase of the the difficulties placed in the child's way during the early years of his school career.[45]

> It is a very serious fault to begin teaching children to read in Latin as is usually done, instead of in French. This system merely wastes three or four years, exhausts the teacher's patience and often discourages the pupils and engrains in them a hatred for study.[46]

> To begin with, common sense shows us that we ought not to employ those methods in which the grammar rules are set forth in Latin; for it is absurd to set about teaching the principles of a language in the very language which one is going to learn and of which as yet one knows nothing.[47]

> In Latin they have nothing to help them. Everything is new and strange to them. They cannot interest themselves in the letters or groups of letters which are shown to them. As a result, they can remember these only with extreme difficulty and after a long time, during which they have to repeat them hundreds of times before they can call them to mind once.[48]

> It is better, when teaching children to read, to make use of books written in French than in Latin. They understand with less difficulty what is in their mother tongue than what they read in another language of which they have no idea.[49]

The Port Royal schools were suppressed in 1665 by royal decree because of their Jansenism. They lasted seventeen years and never enrolled more than a total of one hundred students. However, the books written later by the Solitary Sages of Port Royal had considerable influence

on instruction in the vernacular.[50] It is a common opinion of reputable historians that DeLaSalle followed the example of Port Royal in employing the vernacular. That DeLaSalle did this is not true. A close study of the writings of DeLaSalle and of the writings of the Port Royalists fails to establish any connection between the two.[51] This is not surprising since the Jansenist leanings of the Port Royalists, the secondary level of their schooling, and the upper socio-economic status of their students held no interest for DeLaSalle.

Meanwhile, the position of the Ancients was well established in the primary schools. The method for teaching reading in Latin had been explained in detail in The Parish School. All the congregations of sister teachers taught reading in Latin. Charles Demia, who was innovative in many ways, did not change the traditional order.

> In the rule of his schools in Lyon, Charles Demia, who was one of the inspirerers of DeLaSalle, admitted to reading French only those who read Latin in phrases.[52]

Latin was considered by society as indispensable in education. Latin was the language of culture and the accepted medium of communication of ideas by educated people. With Latin occupying such an important position, it seemed natural that a child should be instructed in reading Latin. For students continuing their education in the classics this was an excellent practice. The priority given to reading Latin was not due to the desire to form better Catholics but to the certitude firmly held that reading Latin was easier than reading French and that reading Latin was "an indispensable propaedeutic to

reading the vernacular."[53] Such was the position of Scipio Roux whose Latin primer was endorsed by Claude Joly for the Paris schools.

> It is incomparably more easy for a child to learn to spell in Latin than in French. To spell a Latin syllable he has only to name the letters of that syllable and to put them together; to spell in French he has not only to name the letters of the syllable, as in Latin, but he then has to put these letters together in a way which, very often, is different from what he sees written.[54]

DeLaSalle did not agree with the assumption that the phonetic spelling of Latin was more simple and, therefore, more suitable for the teaching of reading. DeLaSalle knew that what is logically simple is not necessarily psychologically simple.[55]

The Ancients also argued against the Moderns that there was no mother tongue. During the seventeenth century there were at least a half dozen major dialects in France. Basically these dialects were divided into two groups distinguished by the way they said yes (oc, oil): Langue d'oc in the South had five dialects; Langue d'oil in the center and North had four dialects.[56] During the reign of Louis XIV the central dialect of Paris assumed an ascendency in the strong movement in favor of a mother tongue and of a French literature (Pascal, Corneille, LaFontaine, Molière, Racine, DesCartes, Montaigne and St.Simon).

> A distinct and common culture, a common origin and history, a common loyalty to the monarch, these required a distinct and common language.[57]

Latin had been the common language in the Middle Ages, but by 1700 commerce, religion, politics, literature, and the arts had turned to

French. Joseph Voisin, doctor of the Sorbonne, in 1660 first translated the Roman Missal into French. When the French Academy published its Dictionary in 1694, two sine qua non conditions for teaching reading in the vernacular seem to have been established, an official pronunciation and spelling of French words.[58] Although DeLaSalle made accommodations for the vernacular needs of the South, he took a strong stance on teaching the pronunciation and spelling of Parisian-Central France. Despite the opposition of tradition, the proponents of the French language continued the struggle for recognition; and DeLaSalle joined the ranks of Montaigne, Rabelais, Calvin, Ramus, DesCartes, the French Academy, the Oratorians, Port Royal, Fleury.[59]

Educators were the last to cease resisting the increasing demands for a native language. The most formidable obstacle to the use of the vernacular was the tradition of the universities. Humanism had come to be identified with Graeco-Roman culture. The universities, the Jesuit colleges, and the little schools continued to treat Latin as a living language while the Oratorians, Port Royal and the Christian Schools of DeLaSalle treated it as a dead language.[60] The pedagogical directories of most congregations of sister teachers and nun teachers at the end of the eighteenth century confirm that they were following the traditional Latin reading program. The religious motive cannot have been the explanation; a number of primary schools, no longer under the control of the parish priests after the Revolution in 1789, continued the old Latin routine. Latin dominated secondary education and the universities as the langue savante well into the

eighteenth century. Schools continued to Latinize the people, and Latin persisted despite the fact that many considerations given in defense of teaching reading in Latin (la langue savante et universelle) were anachronisms and sophisms.[61] Routine and traditional ways die hard. Of the three hundred syllabaires published between 1806-1875 a good number were syllabaires latines. The Moderns won the battle, but they did not triumph over the Ancients: "If French dethroned Latin, it did not exile it."[62] It was reserved for the Third Republic to require that French be read first in the official schools of France.

DeLaSalle reverses the traditional order in teaching reading, but he does not change the traditional method of teaching reading. DeLaSalle keeps the traditional assemblage method of proceeding from the simple to the complex: letters, syllables, words, phrases, sentences, discourse. Letters are the building blocks, and the student never ceases spelling. When the student knows his letters, he spells the syllables. When he knows the syllables, he spells the words. DeLaSalle also keeps the traditional consonant spelling which names the consonants by adding an é (aigu) (bé, cé, dé, effé, . . .). For example, noster is spelled: "ennéoessétéerré." Port Royal had employed a "natural sound" of spelling, which named the consonants by adding only an e (mute), inaugurated by Jacqueline Pascal and later (1719) by Poulain LeLainay. Neither Pascal's nor Poulain's spellings have lasted.[63]

For DeLaSalle spelling is not sufficient to teach reading. Good, correct, clear, natural pronunciation is necessary. Good pronunciation is the main theme of the chapter on reading. DeLaSalle repeatedly stresses that the first responsibility of the beginning reading teacher is to master "the little treatise on pronunciation." The brother teachers are not to allow the children to pass on "a bad country accent (les mauvaises accents du pays)." Reading is to be done aloud and with understanding (la manière sentimental) by using the proper voice inflection for punctuation marks to convey the proper meaning.

> The teacher will take care that the pupils when reading pronounce well all the letters, especially those that are at times difficult to pronounce well . . . He should apply himself particularly to the correction of bad accents that are peculiar to the locality.
>
> The teacher will take care that a pupil when reading should open his mouth well and that he should not pronounce the letters between his teeth (which is a very great fault), that he should speak neither too rapidly nor too slowly nor with any tone or manner that savors of affectation but with a very natural one.
>
> It will be necessary to make them understand first the difficulties which are to be met in the pronunciation of syllables, and which are not slight in French. For this reason, each teacher must know perfectly the little treatise on pronunciation.
>
> Those who are reading in the third book will also be taught all the rules of French pronunciation . . . The teacher will teach the pupils all these things while they are reading, calling their attention to all the mistakes in pronunciation which they make, and he will correct them carefully without overlooking any.[64]

One modern reading critic, not recognizing the significant difference between learning to read aloud in one's mother tongue and in a foreign language (and unfortunately lumping DeLaSalle with Demia, DeBathencourt and the nineteenth century Lancastrians,) questions what

it meant in the seventeenth century for the teacher "to have shown the students how to read (avoir montré à lire)."[65] He maintains that the liberation from Latin was a false one because the students continued to recite and not to read with understanding and because the teacher was minimized to that of a teaching machine (machine à enseigner).

> The instructional method, destined for teachers very often scarcely less educated than their pupils, details minutely the "method" to follow in order to teach (montrer) the letters.[66]

The critic, impatient with the linear method of advancing from letter to syllable to word to phrase to sentence, is a proponent of the global method of reading wherein the student first learns to recognize the form and meaning of a repertoire of 300-400 words, and thereafter, presumably, reads with understanding.[67] Against this criticism two observations can be made: reading experts still disagree regarding the benefits of various methods of teaching reading (global, linear, phonics); reading in the vernacular, rather than reading in Latin, can only have increased understanding.

What does it mean to know how to read? Does it mean to have the comportment of an adult reading aloud? Does it mean to oralize in a manner as agreeable as possible? Does it mean to understand what one reads (according to one's capacity)? DeLaSalle answers "Yes" to the three questions: "It is necessary that they read French perfectly, distinctly and intelligently."[68] As an apprenticeship method of learning, the linear method in the spirit of the seventeenth century aims at an adult-like performance by the student reading aloud. It is true that on the primary level reading Latin meant pronouncing Latin, and

there was little understanding. This is not true for reading French. DeLaSalle's change to the vernacular makes sense because it provides the student with a tool for communication and understanding (according to the capacity of the student). In an anonymous work published in Paris in the mid-eighteenth century, Essai d'une école chrétienne, are the following statements which might very well refer to the reading method in the Christian Schools:

> An excellent means of forming the spirit and judgment of children shall be not to make them say or read anything of which one has not, at the same time, given them the explanation: they shall read better and they shall profit more. If it is possible the teachers should prepare the children about what they are to read or to learn by heart, and, after the lesson, to make two or three of them render an account of what they have read and learned, more according to the sense than according to the words.[69]

Part One of The Conduct details the reading program as follows:

Three-Year Program of Reading

Lesson	Title	Assign / Recite
The Alphabet	Alphabet Wall Chart	identify / 1 line
The Syllables	Syllable Wall Chart	spell-pronounce / 3 lines
The Primer	SYLLABAIRE FRANÇAIS	2 pages / 2-4 lines /
The First Reader	Continuous narrative Local selection	spelling / 3 lines
The Second Reader	DUTIES OF A CHRISTIAN	syllables / 3-5 lines
The Third Reader	Continuous narrative Local selection Punctuation Chart	section / 8-15 lines
The Fourth Reader	The Psalter in Latin	2 pages / 6-10 lines
The Fifth Reader	CHRISTIAN POLITENESS	section / 4-10 lines
Manuscripts	Different scripts	"two by two" / 30-40-50 words

First Year Reading Program

Oct. - Dec. : Alphabet and Syllables
Jan. - May : Syllabication in Syllabaire
June - Aug. : First Reader
Sept.- Oct. : Summer vacation

From October through December the students study their letters, capital and small, and the syllables on the wall charts. From January to May they study syllabication in the Syllabaire. From June through August they finish reading the first reader before the September vacation. By the end of the first school year the students begin to read words and phrases with understanding. After the summer vacation they begin reading with pauses (lecture courante) in the second book. Only then (well into their second year) are they initiated to reading Latin.[70]

The third volume of Duties of a Christian, published in Paris in 1703, lists all the textbooks of instruction and piety published for use in the Christian schools.

Textbooks by DeLaSalle

A Syllabaire français
An Exercise of Piety Manual
Instructions and Prayers for Mass
Instructions in Preparation for Confession
The Catechism by questions and answers
The Large and Small Abridged Catechisms
The Duties of a Christian (discours suivi)
Instructions for Confession and Communion
Rules of Politeness and Christian Courtesy
The Christian Life
Spiritual Hymns
The Office of the Virgin with the Psalms

These textbooks have all been found in later editions except the Syllabaire français and The Christian Life.

There were three different approaches to reading in seventeenth century France. Each approach had its own popular beginning textbooks called abécédaires or syllabaires. The Croix de par Dieu (Cross of God), published in the sixteenth century, teaches reading in Latin by the traditional linear method (letters, syllables, words, "periods") in which the first exercises in reading are the prayers. The book got its name from the cross on the cover over the four branches of which the child, about to read, moved his finger while saying:

Sainte Croix	Holy Cross
Aidez - moi	Help me
A bien lire	To read well
Ma leçon.	My lesson.
S'il vous plait.	Please.

The Roti-Cochon (Roast Pig), published in 1689, has a picture of a different meal on each page with an appropriate maxim in Latin and French. Rôti-Cochon proposes to teach reading in Latin and French at the same time.[71] DeLaSalle published his Syllabaire français in 1698 without official permission. Claude Joly, the superintendent of schools in Paris and no friend of DeLaSalle's, would give approval only to the traditional Latin-first reading program. After Joly's death in 1700, the Syllabaire français (1703) was reprinted with permission. It had seventy-two pages. The first pages were filled with "all sorts of French syllables of two, three, four, five, six, seven letters." Next came some words to facilitate the pronunciation of the syllables. Contrary to the custom of the traditional abécédaires, there were no prayers.[72] DeLaSalle's Syllabaire français

was the first syllabaire solely in French for use in the free primary schools.

> This syllabaire is without doubt the first in French. This modest classic established a veritable Copernican revolution in primary teaching.[73]

Writing, Arithmetic, Spelling

Seventeenth century France was a predominantly illiterate society in which the essentials in communication were oral and tactile.[74] In many areas going to school meant learning to read but not to write. Local dialect (patois) was seldom written. In some places ecclesiastics and learned men, either through a lack in their early education or because they forgot, did not know how to write their own names.[75] Writing was considered a difficult art taught in special writing schools by writing masters. We have seen that DeLaSalle came into conflict with the writing masters when he simplified the method for teaching writing and incorporated it into the Christian Schools. It is in the context of DeLaSalle's legal conflict with the writing masters that the warnings and ordinances in The Conduct and The Rule make sense: not to send written messages delivered by the students; not to have material copied by the students; not to use unapproved writing models.[76]

The chapter on writing is the most detailed chapter in The Conduct. It reads like the description of an apprenticeship program: first, the tools (paper of quality, pens of second growth goosefeathers, knife, ink, models, blotter, transparencies); second,

the six orders of round hand and Italian script; third, the twelve page detailed explanation of how the teacher trains the students to write well; fourth, the list of fifteen steps detailing the art of "trimming a quill." DeLaSalle's method of teaching writing illustrates the Cartesian analysis into the simplest elements and the art of joining the elements together in a progressive learning process. The teacher has to be concerned about the tools and the physical conditions for writing: good light, a stool of the right height, a table properly inclined with an inkwell sunken so fidgety children are not able to knock it over, sufficient models for copy, and a suitable storage place. He emphasizes the orthopedic role of the teacher who continually works at correcting the student's posture and the finger movements so that bad habits are not formed. The teacher prepares learning aids, such as sticks "notched at the three places where the fingers correctly hold a pen," on which the students practices the proper finger grip and movements, and string which tied together the two under-fingers. The Conduct guides the beginning teacher through the writing curriculum so carefully and in such detail that the presentation has been mistaken for the equivalent to a student's textbook.[77]

The spatial relationship between the teacher and the writing student changes dramatically from that between the teacher and the reading student. DeLaSalle moves the writing teacher among the students. This innovative displacement of the teacher substitutes for the "comings and goings of the students up to the teacher."[78] Whereas

the reading teacher never leaves his place up front, the writing teacher comes down and passes among the students and makes hands-on corrections helping the student to the proper posture and proper finger movements. It is essential for the teacher to visit the student regularly, to facilitate the progress of the apprentice writer, and to encourage him.

> The teacher should inspect all the writers every day, and, in the case of the beginners, even two or three times a day.
>
> The teacher will take care in the beginning not to call their attention to more than three or four mistakes, for fear of confusing them if he should show them a greater number and making them forget what he has taught them.
>
> When the teacher has corrected something for a student in the first three orders, he will not leave him at once; but he will make him write in his presence what he has taught him or what he has corrected. . . . If the teacher should leave him at once, the pupil would forget all that had been said or taught him. Further, this will please the parents; for the children will not fail to say that the teacher has shown them by making them write before him, has guided their hand, and so on.[79]

Only after the correct body posture is acquired does the teacher work on the coordination of the straight movements of the arm and the circular movements of the fingers by having the student write the letters: C,O,I,F,M. When these movements are mastered, the student is taught the other letters differentiated by height, width, slant, and distance between letters and lines. DeLaSalle's method of teaching writing includes proven recipes acquired from experience: utilization of line transparencies, invention of instructional aids, specialization of models, recognition of individual differences, precise definition of terms (<u>legs</u>, <u>feet</u>, <u>heads</u>, <u>tails</u>, <u>members</u>, <u>body</u>). The blackboard is not used, because chalk writing on the blackboard is

not suitable for apprenticeship learning. The blackboard is reserved for arithmetic.[80]

In light of the different organization of the writing class it is not surprising that DeLaSalle speaks differently about the writing lessons and orders. There are two writing lessons: round hand or block style, and Italian style called "bastard" in the 1705 edition. DeLaSalle introduces into the schools the Italian script which is slightly slanted and makes for more fluent writing. Round hand, however, remained the more popular. Both writing lessons had six orders.

The Six Writing Orders

1st order: posture; arm, hand, finger movements
2nd order: forming C,O,I,F,M
3rd order: forming letters of the alphabet
4th order: spacing letters evenly
5th order: copying sentences from models
6th order: writing sentences

Writing is taught for one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon. Ordinarily writing is a two-year program, but accommodations are made for older students who have only one year in which to learn to write.

The beginning teacher learns how to use the five techniques employed in teaching spelling: copying, notebook, homework, dictation, and self-correction. The techniques are characteristic of the efficiency, thoroughness and practicality of DeLaSalle's pedagogy. The students learn spelling by copying "such things as may be useful for them to know how to write and which they might later use": receipts, legal documents, leases, deeds, official reports.[81] After the students

have copied for sometime, they create their own documents. The students write in a spelling notebook what they remember from the week's catechism "without looking at the book." The teacher corrects the spelling notebook each week. The students rewrite the corrections as spelling homework which the teacher also checks the following week.[82] The principal spelling technique is the dictation (dictée) read aloud by a student while the other students write what is read. The dictation is not mentioned in the 1705 edition. The correct spelling and punctuation are later read aloud, and the students self-correct their misspellings.

Arithmetic is the last stage of the school apprenticeship learning. It is very likely that the majority of students left school before reaching it.[83] Arithmetic is taught to the writing students in the advanced class for one hour on each of two afternoons. One can only guess as to when arithmetic first entered the curriculum. Was it when DeLaSalle dropped the chant, when DeLaSalle stopped the manual labor part of the program in the parish school of St. Sulpice, or when the primacy of reading in Latin was dropped?[84] In any event arithmetic is not an initiation into mathematics. (The teacher, moreover, would not have had the competence.) Arithmetic is simply the mechanics of counting useful in adult life. Arithmetic teaches the conditions for commerce in daily life, and the arithmetic operations always deal with money.[85] There are two methods of calculating: by jet and by pen. Jet calculation is a mechanical process similar to the abacus. DeLaSalle does not employ the mechanical jet method in the Christian Schools.

Calculations by pen include writing arabic numbers in the basic four operations, the rule of three, and proof by nine.

The Conduct is emphatic that arithmetic be not taught by rote; that the student reason and understand the arithmetic operations.

> While a pupil is doing the example of his lesson, the teacher will ask him several questions concerning it, in order to make him understand it better and retain it. If he makes use of terms pertaining to the subject which the pupil does not understand, he will explain them to him and make him repeat them before going further. From time to time the teacher will also question some other pupils who have the same lesson, to ascertain if they are attentive and if they understand.
>
> The teacher will be careful not to help the students too soon to overcome the difficulties which they encounter in the solution to a problem. It is necessary, on the contrary, to encourage the students not to get discouraged but to try harder to find the solution by themselves according to their capacity. The teacher shall persuade the students that they shall retain better the knowledge they have acquired by their own personal efforts.[86]

Four steps can be discerned in the simultaneous method of teaching arithmetic: (1) A model example is presented on the blackboard and copied into the student's notebook. (2) The students follow the solution of each example. Numbers are changed to make the example harder.

> In arithmetic, as well as in the other lessons, it is with the most elementary examples that it will begin, and with the most advanced that it will end.[87]

(3) All the students, in turn, work problems at the blackboard for which the teacher keeps a record. (4) Homework is assigned to create new problems and to work out the solutions. The student keeps a notebook of his own problem exercises. The arithmetic notebook also serves as the spelling notebook. When the teacher corrects the spelling, he also corrects the arithmetic problems.

> During the writing time on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, instead of correcting the writing, the teacher will correct the examples which the students of arithmetic have done by themselves in their notebooks. He will explain the reason why anything is incorrect. . . . and he will give them a full explanation.[88]

Educational Theory

The best expression of educational theory applicable to DeLaSalle's primary instruction comes from a contemporary of his at the opposite end of the social spectrum, Claude Fleury (1640-1723), educational theorist, member of the French Academy, lawyer, priest, historiographer, close associate of Fenelon, and tutor to the children of princes for thirty years. Saint-Simon gives us an intimate insight into Fleury's character.

> He was respected for his modesty, for the quiet life he led in the very midst of the court, for a piety that was sincere, enlightened, and constant, for his warmth and his charming conversation, and for his total lack of greed and ambition. He had only the priory of Argenteuil, near Paris, and wanted only one benefice although he had little personal wealth. He had reached the age of eighty-three in the full possession of his mental powers and had lived for many years in quiet solitude.[89]

Fleury authored the monumental Ecclesiastical History. Historians have praised Fleury as "one of the most liberal and most distinguished minds of the age of Louis XIV; the most liberated of the educators of his century." Fleury's role in the Quarrel was firmly, but cautiously, on the side of the Moderns. His practical spirit of utility suggests that he was part of the movement toward realism in education. The inspiration for his educational theory came from his own historical studies, his personal experience as tutor, and other educational realists.[90]

There is no evidence that DeLaSalle had any relation with Fleury. Nor is there reason to believe that Fleury was familiar with DeLaSalle's work. Although Fleury was more open to dealing with known Jansenists than was DeLaSalle, both men parallel each other in their caution in dealing with the clerical powers of the times. No doubt Fleury was influenced by the Oratorians and the Port Royalists. Although DeLaSalle worked in the education of the masses and Fleury in private and selective education, both men believed that Latin did not respond to the needs of the times and that education should be practical and career oriented.

> Only Jean Baptiste DeLaSalle, among French seventeenth century educators, rivaled Fleury in his concern for education in the practical realities of life.[91]

In 1686 Fleury wrote a Treatise on the Choice and Method of Studies (Traité du choix et de la méthode des études) whereby he, unknowingly, became the theoretician of Lasallian pedagogy.[92]

Fleury's contribution to educational reform is exclusively in curriculum theory. From an historical analysis of general education Fleury concludes that utility is paramount in education. Education is most successful where it responds relatively directly to the needs of the people. Conversely, education is least successful where it imposes educational values and practices of a previous age on a new and different age. As presented in Choice and Method of Studies, Fleury's educational reform theory is contained in three key principles: selectivity, vernacular and relevance. The principle of selectivity proposes that there is no fixed quadrivium or trivium capable of

preparing a student in every age for all possible tasks; that the student's course of study should be selected as a function of his life's goals and career needs.

> Usefulness in relation to one's role in society and goals in life was the ultimate criterion of a valid field of study for a given individual.[93]

The principle of vernacular is a critical stance against Latin as the medium of instruction.

> Students do not know it well enough for it to be used as a language of instruction for history, geography, Greek poetry.
>
> Only enough Latin was taught to permit students to read and pronounce the various Latin prayers that were required for participation in church services. There was no need for any deeper knowledge of Latin.[94]

The principle of relevance proposes that "school is not a state desirable in itself. Rather it is a means for acquiring skills necessary for life." The function of the school, therefore, is "to understand the dynamics and needs of the society in which it exists and adopt a curriculum to meet those needs."[95]

Fleury believes in education for all but not the same education for all. Selection is made from a curriculum that is divided into five kinds of studies.

> Studies <u>necessary for all</u>: morality, religion, civility, logic, metaphysics, and personal health.
> Studies <u>necessary for those of means</u>: reading, writing and speaking in French, arithmetic, economics, and law.
> Studies <u>useful but not necessary</u>: Latin, history, science and poetry.
> Studies <u>interesting</u>: Greek, music and botany.
> Studies <u>useless</u>: magic and alchemy.[96]

In separating the study of Latin from the studies considered essential to an educated man, Fleury goes further in the radical reform of

curriculum than the Port Royalists, the Oratorians, or any individual theoretician of his time.[97]

Like DeLaSalle, Fleury writes of the importance of the teacher ("not too old, too bitter and too unhappy to teach") attraction to the students. Both men bring to education a respect and love for the student. Fleury speaks in the vocabulary of his time of educational practices that can be translated into the vocabulary of contemporary education: "elective courses, readiness levels, individualized instruction, cultural environment, sensory stimuli, interdisciplinary studies." Unlike DeLaSalle Fleury does not speak in favor of mass education, and in this respect he fails as an adequate educational theorist of DeLaSalle's efforts. For this same reason Fleury is not mentioned in the historical development of modern education even though its orientation has been toward variety of choice and method in studies.

Catechism

DeLaSalle wrote The Conduct from the viewpoint of a formateur of teachers. This viewpoint is most evident in the chapter on catechism. The chapter instructs the beginning teacher in the art of getting attention and the art of questioning.

> DeLaSalle prefers to address himself to the teachers, responsible for the behavior of the students, for their ignorance, for their lack of attention, for their disobedience. Only when the teacher knows how to ask questions and to interest the students and when he acts with kindness and firmness, understanding and consideration, then will the students behave and learn.[99]

DeLaSalle is more concerned with the method of teaching than with a body of doctrine. He had already written a three-volume work on Christian doctrine as a teacher resource, and his perspective is not that of a theologian. The dignity of doctrine interests DeLaSalle less than the participation of the catechist: "You are the ambassadors and ministers of Jesus Christ in the work which you undertake."[100] Unlike the great catechist Cardinal Bellarmine who utilized the "bread of life" concept in his presentation to the catechists, DeLaSalle is not content oriented. He stresses the manner of teaching, "as Jesus taught us to teach." He insists on placing more importance on the role of teaching than on the role of doctrine.[101] It is this perspective which distinguishes DeLaSalle's writing on catechism from that of his predecessors.

The importance that DeLaSalle gives to teaching the catechism is unequivocal. Blain willingly underscores the importance in their work of teaching catechism when he says that DeLaSalle had founded "a new family of catechists and schoolteachers."[102] The Rule of 1705 prescribes that the first and principal concern of the brother teacher is to teach catechism every day. In The Daily Regulations the study of catechism holds a prominent place in the daily horarium. In the preparation for the professional examination of conscience and the weekly interview, none of the professional duties is neglected, but teaching catechism is considered the principal accountability.

> Whether you have not preferred to teach secular subjects such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, though you must not neglect these, since they are strictly required of you; nevertheless, those lessons that contribute to the support of religion are of much greater importance.[103]

DeLaSalle's view of the primacy of catechism is based on his analysis of St. Paul, for whom there is no salvation without faith, no faith without the word, no word without a minister. The ministry of the word is fundamental to DeLaSalle's teachers. To instruct, in the context of the Catholic reform, has a threefold signification: to catechize, to moralize, to teach the abc's.[104] In The Meditations the terms "instruct" and "instruction," unless they are followed by a complement which specifies the object, most probably designate exclusively religious instruction. Lastly, the primacy of catechism for DeLaSalle demands competencies of the teacher: doctrinal competency, the lack of which knowledge would have been "criminal"; biblical competency, to announce the Gospel to the poor; pedagogical competency, to transmit knowledge that touches the heart; spiritual competency, whereby the catechist is not only a messenger but a witness.[105]

The organization of the catechism lessons is different from that of the other lessons. The 1706 edition of The Conduct describes six catechism lessons which, for the most part, parallel the reading lessons. This method of lesson organization is dropped by 1720 in favor of teaching the same catechism lesson to the entire class.[106] Whereas The Parish School describes short fifteen-minute catechism lessons daily with a long lesson all afternoon on Wednesday, DeLaSalle teaches catechism every day during the last half hour of school. On the eve of a holiday catechism is taught for one hour, and on Sundays it is taught for an hour and a half. Catechism is taught as a week's

unit with a different topic each week. Ordinarily the daily lesson comprises two or three catechism questions settled upon beforehand.[107] Part of Sunday's catechism is a summary and review of the week's unit.

Catechism is a systematic method of instruction in Christian doctrine by means of question and answer. Chapter Nine on the catechism is a short treatise on the art of questioning. DeLaSalle is at his best explaining the art of questioning and demonstrating his sensitivity and concern for the slow student.

> The teacher will not speak during catechism as though he were preaching, but he will ask the students continuous questions and sub-questions.
>
> He will question all his pupils each day. . . . several times, even, if he is able to do so.
>
> From time to time he will interrupt the regular order and the sequence to question those whom he has observed to be inattentive, or even the most ignorant.
>
> He will be especially careful to question, and much more often than the others, those whose minds are slow and dull and who have difficulty in remembering.
>
> On Sundays he will not question in succession. . . . he will sometimes question one or more in different places. . . . and in the same manner without regular order of the subject matter.
>
> In his questions, he will make use of only the simplest expressions and words which are easily understood and which need no explanation. . . . He will make his questions as short as he can.
>
> If it should happen that some little child or some slow one is unable to give an entire answer, he will divide the question in such a way that the pupil may give in three answers what he had not been able to give in one.
>
> The teacher's questions and sub-questions, and the student's answers to the sub-questions should fulfill the following four conditions. (1) They must be short. (2) They must make complete sense. (3) They must be accurate. (4) The answers must not be suited to the capacity of the most able and most intelligent pupils, but to that of the average ones, so that the majority may be able to answer the questions.

> The teacher will take care not to rebuff or to confuse the students, either by words or in any other manner, when they are unable to answer properly the question which has been asked them.
>
> The teacher will encourage and even help the students to say what they have difficulty in recalling.
>
> The student should answer the question in such a manner that, by including the question, the answer will make complete sense.
>
> The teacher will not hesitate to make use of repetition to make sure that the student, especially the slower student, remembers the answer. If someone is so slow that he cannot remember the answer after several repetitions, the teacher will assign a pupil who knows the answer well to repeat it alternatively four or five times with the slow student so as to afford him a greater facility for learning it.[108]

In the meditation on the Good Shepherd DeLaSalle compares the voice of the pastor for his sheep to the questions of the teacher.

> They must hear your voice, that is to say, you must give them instruction suited to their capacity. . . . You must study to word the questions and answers of the catechism lesson in so clear a manner that they will be easily understood.[109]

DeLaSalle expects the beginning teacher to master the art of getting and holding the attention of the children. The true teacher does not have to demand attention; he obtains it by adjusting to the understanding of the child.

> One of the principal tasks of the teacher during catechism is to conduct the lessons in such a manner that all the pupils will be very attentive and may easily retain all he says to them. To this effect:
>
> He will always keep all his pupils in sight.
> He will take care to talk very little and to ask a great many questions.
> He will speak only on the subject assigned.
> He will guard against departing from his subject.
> He will always speak in a serious manner.
> He will be careful not to speak in a dull manner which could produce weariness.
> He will not fail to indicate in every lesson some practices to the pupils.
> He will not disturb the catechism lesson with untimely

> reprimands and corrections.
> He will always chose some story that the pupils will enjoy and tell it to them in a way that will please them and renew their attention.
> He will recognize that it is not naturally easy for the pupils to acquire perfect attention and it is ordinarily for a very short time.[110]

The beginning teacher has to recognize that study is not naturally easy for children and that their attention span is of short duration. At Sunday's catechism review lesson, which is long, the teacher is to tell stories that are enjoyable, interesting and narrated with details that please children. Boys who do not attend the school are permitted to attend the Sunday catechism lesson "provided they do not cause any disorder." To encourage pupils to learn the catechism more readily the teachers offer rewards, "as charity and prudence will dictate," to the most attentive and to those who make the greatest effort.[111] Unlike other catechists DeLaSalle does not use competition as a means of motivation. The teachers are to keep the children involved and to be observant that "they do not play with themselves, laugh at the mistakes of others, prompt answers to others, or ask to go to the toilet without necessity." It does not suffice to announce the Good News of the gospel to the children. The teacher has to cause the gospel to be heard by using simple words understandable to children; to be received by opening the minds and forming the judgment of the children with the three r's as a propaedeutic to faith; to be lived by helping the children make the application in their lives. DeLaSalle does not end the catechism lesson with a simple recapitulation as was

the common practice of catechists. He concludes with an application to practical living.[112]

In the seventeenth century the recitation of the catechism on the primary level was from memory, by heart. The problem with this method is that, if the words change, the children become confused. Memory alone, therefore, does not suffice. The children should learn with at least an elementary understanding and judgment. The anonymous publication Essais d'une école chrétienne (1724) describes such a sound pedagogy and might well refer to the teaching practice of the brothers.

> The teacher shall present the text of the lesson, shall explain it word by word, shall join to it familiar explanations and stories from history, having care to have these things learned by judgment much more than by memory.[113]

DeLaSalle demands that each pupil have his own catechism book as the "essential support for the reflective interiorization of the Christian faith."[114]

It was common practice for bishops in the seventeenth century to write catechisms for use in the schools and parishes of their dioceses. Most diocesan catechisms had three abridged versions: the grand catechism for adults who already knew the truths of religion; the petit catechism for children who had to learn the rudiments of the faith; the moyen catechism for use in the preparation of special religious events, such as First Communion.[115] These three catechisms corresponded to three kinds of commonly taught catechism lessons: mission catechism, parish catechism, and school catechism. Mission catechism was compacted into a two-week course for the adults of rural

parishes.[116] Parish catechism was taught on Sundays in the parish church for adults and children, sometimes together, sometimes separately. Most frequently the parish catechism lessons were given only in Lent and in preparation for Communion and Confirmation.[117] Bourdoise at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet and Olier at St. Sulpice specialized in regular parish catechism lessons. School catechism lessons varied in frequency from every day to a couple of times a week. Most often the catechism lesson was based on a scripture passage. School catechism lessons were called "recitations" when the entire class recited the questions and answers. They were called "dialogues" when, in competition, one group of students posed the questions, and another group gave the answers.[118]

DeLaSalle forbids the brother teachers to teach catechism outside of school, even in church.

> With regard to catechism, I think it is necessary and important that you should teach it in your school. Is a teacher forbidden to give the catechism lesson to his pupils in his school? I do not like our Brothers to teach catechism in church; nevertheless, if it is forbidden to teach it in school, it is better to do it in church than not at all.[119]

There is no school without catechism and no catechism outside of school. The school, not the church, is the integrating factor in the life of the brother teacher. DeLaSalle had to use the catechism of the diocese in which the school was located.

> While they were assembling, they questioned one another, in groups of two's, on the diocesan catechism, just as was done during breakfast and lunch.[120]

However, to facilitate teacher education and insure uniformity in instruction and autonomy in school administration DeLaSalle wrote his

own catechism for use in the catechism lesson as such in the Christian Schools.[121]

In 1703 DeLaSalle published it as The Duties of a Christian in three volumes. The printed page of The Duties is a pocketsize 2 1/2 inches by 5 inches. The first volume, written as a source book for catechists and learned adults, has been well preserved. Maillefer tells us that it was written for the novices in teacher education.

> It was necessary for them, in matters of theology, morals and liturgy, to have a manual without pedantic terminology, without casuistic subtleties, without exegetical and historical dissertations, but which, explaining the texts of the Gospels, quoting the authorized commentaries, and showing the continuous action of doctrine in the lives of individuals and of the church, substantially strengthened their understanding and their faith.[122]

Volume one covers 97 topics in 494 pages. Divided into two parts (the duties and the means of fulfilling these duties), it is written in continuous prose (discours suivi), and was probably used as a school reader. There have been 257 editions and printings of the first volume. When mention is made of repeated editions of The Duties, the reference is really being made to volume one.[123] The second volume, sub-titled The Catechism of the Brothers of the Christian School, parallels and details volume one by means of questions and answers. Volume two covers 76 topics in 305 pages. It is designed for the use of children which explains why very few of the original copies have survived. DeLaSalle made two abridged catechisms out of volume two: a grand version for use in the upper classes and a petit version for use in the lower classes. The grand abridged catechism covers 32 topics

in 118 pages. The petit abridged catechism covers 19 topics in 47 pages. Below is an excerpt from the petit abridged catechism:

Petit Abridgement
of The Duties of a Christian

Instruction One:
Creation, The End of Man, and The Three Theological Virtues

Q. Who made you and put you into the world?
A. God made me and put me into the world.
Q. Why did God make you and put you into the world?
A. God made me and put me into the world to know him, to love him, to serve him, and, by these means, to merit heaven.
Q. How do we know God in this world?
A. We know God in this world by faith.
Q. What is faith?
A. Faith is a virtue which makes us believe firmly what the Church tells us to believe because God has revealed it to her.
Q. How do you love God in this world?
A. We love God when we have charity.
Q. What is charity?
A. Charity is a virtue which makes us love God above all things and our neighbor as ourselves for the love of God.
Q. Are we able to merit heaven after our death?
A. Yes, we shall merit heaven after our death if we serve God in this world.
Q. Should we be confident of going to heaven after our death?
A. Yes, we should be confident of going to heaven after our death.
Q. What is the virtue which makes us confident of going to heaven after death?
A. The virtue which makes us confident of going to heaven is hope.
Q. What is the virtue of hope?
A. Hope is a virtue which makes us desire and await with confidence the good things God has promised us: His help in this life and His glory in the next.[124]

The third volume, entitled The Exterior and Public Worship Which Christians Are Obliged to Render to God and the Means of Rendering It to Him, deals with the liturgy. It is a "warm and appealing discussion of the liturgy in daily life." It is eminently practical. Unlike the best seller volume one, only one principal edition of volume three is known to us.

The content of The Duties gives us an insight into the spirit of the seventeenth century catechism lesson. First, there is a preference given to the economy of salvation over speculative theology. Second, all religious instruction is related to practice, not moralizing but as living new life in the spirit. The teaching on charity controls the entire section on morality. Thirdly, the important place of prayer is emphasized.[125] Unfortunately The Duties and the abridged catechisms have not, even remotely, approached their rightful place in the Lasallian catechetical tradition.

There is no agreement among scholars as to the use of volume one in the schools as a reader. One view sees the discursive volume used as the second reader: "Otherwise it is hard to explain its hundreds of editions."[126] The Conduct speaks of the second reader as a book "of Christian instruction." However, the students using the second reader were only "spelling perfectly and reading by syllables," and they could hardly be expected to understand fully what they were reading. Understanding must have come later, and very likely The Duties was also chosen as the third book to be "read intelligently by sentences." It is certain that in 1832 The Duties was on the official list of books approved for reading by young people. A second view sees the prose volume only as a source book for teachers until the brothers later edited it for use in reading lessons. This view maintains that it is too hard to sustain, as there is no real proof and as it does not seem likely, that DeLaSalle composed the first edition for use by elementary school students.

> When one reads the first volume and reflects on the very elementary nature of the schools, . . . it just does not seem possible that such a book could have been used as a reading text even though one accepts the premise that the students did not understand much of what they read. This is just asking too much of one's credibility.[127]

DeLaSalle's authorship of The Duties was not given a vote of confidence during DeLaSalle's beatification process. One prelate argued that the work was not known by most of the Brothers and that those who knew of it never used it in their teaching. It was not until 1935 that scholarly research finally and firmly established DeLaSalle's authorship.[128]

Exercises of Piety

The subject matter taught in the Christian School includes mastery of the rudiments, Christian formation, and refinement of manners.[129] The last two areas compose a school atmosphere in which the children are given, "from morning until night," a suitable education in the spirit of Christianity. The teacher establishes the classroom as a "religious place" of quiet study and mutual respect, and the charts and pictures on the walls so designate it. The spirit of Christianity is fostered by exercises of piety including prayer and daily Mass.[130] By "spirit" DeLaSalle means mentality, conviction, character, and "what the philosophers mean by practical reason issuing into act." Spirit is not acquired without effort, but once obtained, it is not easily lost. It colors a person's habitual outlook.[131] For DeLaSalle a Christian spirit is the goal of a suitable education:

> In order to instill the Christian spirit into the children you instruct, you should teach them the practical truths of the faith

> of Christ and the maxims of the Gospels with at least as much care as you teach the truths that are purely speculative.[132]

> If you wish to see your pupils practice virtue, you must practice it yourself. You will persuade them far more by the example of good and modest conduct than by all the words you can say. It is most important that your actions instruct them more than your words.[133]

The atmosphere of the Christian school is prayerful. Short prayers are said throughout the day: at start of school, before and after breakfast and lunch, at the beginning of each lesson, and at the end of school, followed by a song. Every hour and half-hour a small bell sounds and there is a short pause in the lesson to remember the presence of God. The Conduct describes the hour prayer as a reflective nuance for both the student and the teacher.

> The short prayer will call the teachers' attention to themselves and to the presence of God, and will accustom the students to think of God from time to time during the day.[134]

However, DeLaSalle does not encourage private pious devotions among his brother teachers, and he does not organize any confraternities or pious associations in the schools.

> It shall not be permitted for any brother to have practices of a particular devotion. They shall not be in any confraternity no matter how pious it may be.[135]

The prayers, said with variations in harmony with the liturgical year, are contained in The Exercises of Piety (1696), the first schoolbook printed by DeLaSalle. Due to frequent use The Exercises easily wore out and was mutilated. The earliest extant edition is dated 1760 and is bound together with the school hymns.[136] The Exercises highlights the important role of the teacher during the morning reflection and the evening examination of conscience. The

reflection is a "pause" during morning prayer in the form of an examination of forethought as it was understood in the seventeenth century. The Exercises contain the meditation topic for each day of the week which is read aloud by the prayer reader and on which the teacher gives an appropriate reflection.

Reflection Topics

1. Let us consider that we have only been given this day to work out our salvation.
2. Let us be aware that perhaps this day shall be the last day of our life.
3. Let us make a strong resolution to work all day to serve God better in order to gain eternal life.
4. Let us dispose ourselves to die rather than to offend God.
5. Let us think of faults that we ordinarily commit; to foresee the occasions when we might commit them; and to seek the means of avoiding them.[137]

The topics provide the themes the teacher makes accessible to the students. Some seventeenth century books popular with teachers and, no doubt, consulted for stories and reflections suitable to children were these: The Lives of the Saints by Pere Ribadeneyra, The Flowers of Examples, The Paradisus for Boys, The Book of Meditations of St. Bonaventure, The Guide for Sinners by Luis de Granada.[138] During the few moments of reflection the teacher becomes the affectionate big brother, the enlightened guardian angel, the good shepherd who knows his students. Over the centuries the daily reflection has proved helpful to students and over the centuries has become a standard practice in the Brothers' schools.[139] The Exercises also contain "four articles of five points each" that serve as a guide to an examination of conscience. Each day the teacher explains one of the points during the examination of conscience at the end of the school day.

The teacher is not to be so recollected during the prayers that he does not observe all that is going on in the class.

> The teachers should be persuaded that it is not on their account that they assist at Mass when they take their students there, but only in order to watch over them.[140]

Such vigilance is warranted by the large number of students in the classroom, but it is not intended to be oppressive or fatiguing to the teacher or to the students. It is meant to prevent rather than to punish failures. Corrections are never given during prayer. The teacher learns means of effective prevention: have students hold prayer books with both hands; stand where the faces of all the students can be seen; separate students from each other as much as the space allows. DeLaSalle wrote Instructions and Prayers for the students who were able to read, so that during Mass they might be in effective union with the priest.[141] However, going to Mass with the students must have been a difficult time for the teacher judging from the detailed directions and incidental remarks which reveal that kids will be kids.

> The teachers will keep a continuous watch over their pupils during Mass in order to observe the manner in which they behave, the faults that they may commit, and to prevent them from speaking with, or passing anything to each other, from exchanging books, from pushing each other, or from doing any other of those foolish things which are only too common in children.[142]

The Christian School is a place of apprenticeship in Christian living. The secular aspect of life is not neglected or deprived of its autonomy but neither is it deprived of its religious significance.

> A still more important factor in the success of the schools established by DeLaSalle was his happy manner of making religion the center of educational life. DeLaSalle brought both teachers and pupils to realize that religion is the biggest thing in life, the

> most interesting thing in life, and the most important thing in life.[143]

Christian living is considered more important than theoretical knowledge. The Christian School experience is not a rational inquiry into religion but an apprenticeship in the exercise of piety. Virtue is promoted by piety more than by rationality.[144] DeLaSalle emphasizes that good habits are formed by means of repeated acts of piety and good intentions performed in a supportive atmosphere.

> The religious and moral education of the children was the primary and essential end in view. Although this may stand in sharp contrast with the modern theory and practice in education, DeLaSalle's views were strictly in accordance with those generally held at the time. Religion was considered the essence of education.[145]

> Some of the practices may seem to be simple or naive or impossible to the human nature of the school boy in our contemporary society but at another time with an entirely different world view, such practices are not only intellectually accepted but are woven into the very warp and woof of daily life.[146]

The religious dimension of the school has become lost today, but the formalities of school practices, fashioned under that dimension, have fashioned in a lasting manner the pedagogical relation.[147]

Canticles

DeLaSalle is concerned that the students feel good about school and that they carry that feeling home. The school day ends with a song which expressed the psychological and moral joy of being at school.[148] This practice is in sharp contrast with the school scene presented by Van Ostrade ("jails of captive youth"), by Montaigne ("cries of children beaten by drunken teachers"), and by Abraham Bosce

("teachers armed with whips").[149] There are three groups of school songs: those sung before catechism, asking the help of the Holy Spirit; those sung at the end of school and on Sunday, dealing with Christian belief; those sung in celebration on special feast days. The beginning teacher is expected to learn these songs and to lead the students. This is not a difficult task because the tunes were well known to the children who are delighted to sing them.

Ironically Blain says that DeLaSalle in his youth had no talent for music in contrast to his sister, Marie, who was an accomplished pianist.[150] However, once DeLaSalle became involved in schools, he realized the pedagogical significance of singing for children and set about familiarizing himself with song. The melodies for his _cantiques_, for the most part, are based on popular tunes (_chansons profanes_): tunes of the court, satirical songs, tender songs called _brunettes_, love songs, and drinking songs. Example titles are: _Charming Gabrielle_, _Let's Lift a Glass_, _All the Bourgeoise of Chartres_. New words with a religious theme are borrowed from the psalms and prayers. A collection of sixty-seven songs are bound with the third volume of _The Duties_ (1703). Eighty-two songs are bound with _The Exercises of Piety_. Twenty-five of the songs are in both volumes.[151] Through the nineteenth century the collection of songs sung in the Christian Schools grew to 275. However, in the updating many were eliminated, and by the twentieth century only seven songs remained from DeLaSalle's original collection.

DeLaSalle appears to have been more the collector and editor, rather than the composer. The sources for the songs are several: Jesuits, who composed songs to be sung in the colleges and "on missions for the conversion of Huguenots"; Louis de Montefort, who composed over 300 hymns from street airs; and Abbé Pellegrin, from whom DeLaSalle borrowed most of the songs. No doubt these composers committed faults of taste by putting words about religious mysteries to dance tunes, but there is nothing trivial about the adaptation. Most of the tunes, independent of the words, have a simplicity and purity that is itself inspirational. These composers did so well adapting religious words to the popular melodies that it has been as religious songs that most of these melodies have been handed down through history, as if the words and tunes were originally made for each other.[152]

We can only guess why Chapter 10, Des Cantiques, in the 1706 edition of The Conduct is a blank sheet, or why the chapter in the 1720 edition is eliminated. Possibly, DeLaSalle, borrowing and adapting material to provide the best contemporary pedagogical methods for his teachers, went beyond his personal limits and was not able to articulate a detailed explanation on the use of the songs.

Civilité

The aim of education in seventeenth century France was to produce skilled and refined men (habiles et honnêtes hommes). DeLaSalle dignifies the education of the poor by keeping both goals.

Himself a gentleman of refinement, DeLaSalle educates his teachers in refinement and stresses the importance of teaching the children refinement. Refinement permeates the atmosphere of the Christian School. The Conduct describes how the teacher creates the atmosphere of his classroom: by means of good example, prayer and the exercises of piety, quiet work, and respectful behavior between students and teacher. The beginning teacher learns that education is a socialization process and that a good deal of the time of the teacher is spent in socialization exercises.

> They will not be permitted to make shouting noises or to run around or to disturb the neighbors in the vicinity of the schools. . . . They will wait in good order for the door to open that those who pass will be edified.
>
> It will be instilled into them that they must enter the classroom with profound respect, out of consideration for the presence of God. . . . Then they will kneel to adore God and to say a short prayer to the Blessed Virgin, after which they will arise, bow before the crucifix, salute the teacher and go sedately and silently to their regular places.
>
> When the teachers enter the school, all the pupils of each class will arise and remain standing until their teacher has reached his place. . . . None will sit down until he is seated.
>
> They must be made to understand that it is desired that they eat in school in order to teach them to eat with propriety, with decorum, and in a polite manner and to invoke God before and after eating.
>
> The teachers will also take care that the pupils do not throw either nuts or shells on the floor; he will oblige them to put them into their pockets or into their bags.
>
> They will remain uncovered until the teacher has returned the trimmed pens, and when receiving them they will kiss his hand and bow low to him. They will not cease writing while the teacher is trimming their pens.
>
> The pupils will leave the classroom in order. . . . They will both stand and turn toward the teacher to salute him. . . . After this

> they will go out decorously, keeping their arms crossed and their hats off until they are outside of the classrooms.
>
> The teachers will see to it that they do not throw stones or cry out, and that they disturb no one. The teachers will recommend particularly to their pupils not to satisfy their natural necessities in the streets, as this is a thing contrary to decency and modesty. They will admonish them to go for that purpose where they cannot be seen.[153]

Breakfast and lunch eaten in the classroom provide the opportunity for the teacher to teach table manners and consideration for others. Good manners are learned more in imitation of observed correct behavior than in book learning. In this regard the role of the teacher as model of refinement is critical. His refined behavior has much more effect upon the children than treatises on politeness.

The seventeenth century held civilité in the highest esteem. Man is first of all a social, political animal: "Man is not made for himself but for society. It is as essential for man to be sociable as for him to be gifted with reason."[154] To know civilité is more important than to know reading or writing. Civilité is the science of social living, the rule of civil life, the spirit of society. To have civilité is to know how to live (savoir vivre). The Ratio discendi et docendi by Jouvency testifies to the importance attached to this part of education on the secondary level. DeLaSalle, a man of his age, holds to the distinction of classes and the sense of hierarchy by birth, by employment, by education. When he changed his own social class by joining with the school teachers, he did not deny the "social dogmas of his country and time."[155] He was not, however, caught in the external politesse of the court or in the ambition of the bourgeois

gentilhomme. Christian Politeness (Règles de la bienséance et de la civilité chrétienne) contains more than the rules of politeness and good manners.

> It is characterized throughout by a reflection on the bonds that link people together in society. . . . Instead of teaching the history of civilizations, DeLaSalle preferred to train children to live as civilized persons.[156]

For example, at the end of the 1715 edition of Christian Politeness DeLaSalle denounces with indignation, as the shame of his time, the abandonment of old parents. At sixty-four years of age DeLaSalle judges la grande siècle as barbarous and inhumane, and he pledges his teachers to teach Christian behavior to the poor and the working class.

> What he wished to do, however, was to adapt the more fundamental and elementary rules of etiquette and good behavior to the possibilities of the lower classes, while inspiring them with more elevated motives than vanity and snobbishness.[157]

DeLaSalle would have his teachers teach politeness based on prudence and charity. The Preface of Christian Politeness (1703, 1715, 1783) describes DeLaSalle's concept of refinement as impregnated with the spirit of Christianity.

> It is surprising that most Christians look upon good behavior and politeness as purely human, worldly qualities, and never think of lifting their mind any higher to look upon them as virtues relating to God, our neighbor and to ourselves.
>
> They should never, when explaining the rules of good behavior to children, forget to teach them that these must be practiced for Christian motives.
>
> When they wish to encourage the children to adopt certain exterior practices having to do with the modest bearing of the body they will take care to encourage them to do so through respect for the presence of God.

> If they train them in those practices of good behavior which relate to their neighbor they will exhort them to give these marks of good will, of honor, and of respect only as to members of Jesus Christ.[158]

> Christian behavior is, therefore, a prudent, well-regulated way of acting. It is evident in the modesty and respect manifest in one's words and external conduct, in the union and charity one has for his neighbor. It takes into account time, place, and persons. And when it concerns neighbor, it is properly called politeness.

> When giving rules of politeness, teachers should suggest as the motive of politeness some Christian motive. They should never tell their students not to do a thing because they will get blamed if they do, or that no one will like them, or that others will make fun of them. These motives develop in the student a worldly viewpoint, far from the spirit of the Gospel.

> A Christian is never permitted to lose sight of religion in the education of his children.

> Lessons in politeness, civility and good behavior, as also all other types of education, become harmful to children if one neglects to make them understand that they must strive more for the perfection of their souls than for the perfection of their bodies. . . . It is in this spirit that DeLaSalle composed Christian Politeness.[159]

There were three views of the concept of civilité in the seventeenth century. The view of Erasmus, expressed in Civilité Puerile, is an ethical view. Good behavior and politeness are reflections of the moral qualities of the inner man. The body and its clothing are the language of the soul. Erasmus holds that the rules of courtesy and good manners are universally applicable to prince and pauper: "No one chooses his native country or his father; everyone is able to acquire refinement and manners."[160] The second view, expressed in the Dictionary of the French Academy, holds up the manners of the court as the model of reference for politeness. Civilité is the interiorization of the code which regulates the social relations and good

manners of the upper class. In this view the rules of civilité are the exclusive mark of a select society. DeLaSalle holds the third view, expressed in Christian Politeness, that civilité is essentially Christian.

> Propriety, concern, politeness, sociability are important natural virtues. The love of God confers on them a high value.[161]

DeLaSalle is the first author to include a religious reference in the title of his work on civilité. The views of DeLaSalle and Erasmus have much in common. For DeLaSalle the rules of civilité are universal and apply to poor children in charity schools. Civilité is primarily an exercise of control over the emotions and passions: "The common ideal was that of a constant reserve which controlled all excessive sentiment."[162] In all things moderation is preferred. For example, in the chapter "Fashion and Clothing" DeLaSalle says: "In matters of style one should not be the first to begin and not the last to stop."[163]

For reasons of prudence DeLaSalle did not publish Christian Politeness under his name, although there were four editions before his death.[164] The first edition of 1703 remained inaccessible until 1960.[165] Christian Politeness became DeLaSalle's second best seller. It was one of the most successful publications in France during the 172 years from its first publication to its last.[166] A total of 177 editions are known to have been published, 114 of which appeared between 1815 and 1876. The numerous editions of Christian Politeness are due to changes in the social customs.

> Since some customs are no longer the same as they were at the time of the first edition of this work, it has been deemed necessary to make some suppressions and additions.[167]

Manuals of instruction on civilité had been widespread in France from the sixteenth century. Until the nineteenth century books on civilité constituted an important literary genre. Since the publication in 1557 of Civilité honnêteté by Maturin Cordier, manuals on politeness were printed in the same exclusive cursive script, erroneously called "gothic," and were also used as reading books to accustom students to read handwriting. When DeLaSalle wrote Christian Politeness, he borrowed from works that were at hand and upgraded them. DeLaSalle's immediate source was Treatise on Politeness (Traité de la civilité 1671) by Antoine de Courtin. Cordier and Courtin constitute the bridge between Erasmus and DeLaSalle.[168]

The Conduct refers to Christian Politeness in this manner: "This book contains all the duties towards God and towards parents and all the rules of Christian politeness." However, the book does not deal with duties to God or to parents. Only in the 1715 edition is there an appendix entitled The Perfect Model of Jesus in His Gospel, which deals with the rules of politeness for a student in Church (towards God), in school (towards teachers) and at home (towards parents). It is questionable whether The Perfect Model is attributable to DeLaSalle. The appendix, which is in the Brothers' Generalate in Rome, is mutilated, and this mutilation has been interpreted as an indication that what follows in the book was not written by DeLaSalle. However, one would think that DeLaSalle must have given permission for the 1715 edition to be used in classes. The Perfect

Model is not included in any later editions of Christian Politeness. After four years of careful research, the editor of the critical edition of Christian Politeness abandoned all efforts to establish DeLaSalle's authorship of The Perfect Model.[169]

The critical edition of Christian Politeness suggests that DeLaSalle wrote it for the brothers as well as for the students. The book is a manual of politeness and a student reader. The title page of the 1703 edition reads "for use in the Christian Schools." The Conduct prescribes.

> When the students know how to read French perfectly, they will read the book on Christian Civility. All those to whom it is given will read consecutively and with understanding [pauses].[170]

It was in Christian Politeness that the sons of the people of France during the eighteenth century learned to behave themselves as well-educated persons. Today the idiomatic French phrase for "he never learned politeness." is Il n'a pas lu la civilité puerile et honnête The book was written in sections and chapters suitable in length and development to classroom reading. The structure dispenses the teacher from having to figure out daily assignments.[171] Christian Politeness is a didactic work intended for students and teachers. It has the clear objective of Christianizing the qualities of politeness and good behavior into virtues. The book provides the teacher with citations of the rules of politeness which they taught and had practiced in class. Christian Politeness prepares the teacher to teach etiquette at breakfast and lunch, politeness in the students' relations with one another and with the teacher, and hygiene at the daily inspection of

clothing and cleanliness. The daily inspection is first included in the 1787 edition, but no doubt it had been a long-standing tradition before publication.[172] The 1715 edition adds to the title page: "very useful for the education of children and for persons who do not have the politesse of the world, nor of the French language."[173]

Christian Politeness is organized into a classical composition of two parts (modesty and respect). The fourteen chapters of the first part deal with modesty and the proper care and carriage of one's own body. Each chapter deals with a different part of the body. Modesty is not humility. It is good behavior (bienséance), the propriety of the individual vis-a-vis himself. Modesty is the absence of presumption. Modesty is moderation, patience, and wisdom which combine in a well regulated exterior.[174] The first part ends with the words, "A Christian ought to be only gentle, moderate and wise in all his behavior." The second part deals with the exterior marks of respect in one's relations with other persons. Respect for others and for oneself is the heart of civilité exercised in society. The chapters deal with clothing, eating, recreation, visits, conversation, traveling, and letter writing. Propriety in these matters is the perfect adaptation of the object to the subject. Clothing, for example, is proper, not because it is pleasing, but because it is appropriate to one's height, age, and condition. The same applies to letter writing, speech, and facial expression. Christian Politeness is a manual of good behavior, hygiene, and politeness founded on modesty and respect.[175]

The material in Christian Politeness is of two kinds: what is true for all times, and what changes with the times. The first concerns the Christian viewpoint of politeness from the heart based on respect for human nature. The second concerns the book as a charming historical document.

> The interest in Christian Politeness is now mainly historical. It does not, in its presentation of the rules of politeness of grand siècle, offer much of a practical nature for use in the second half of the twentieth century.[176]

A delightful scenario, based on DeLaSalle's Christian Politeness, has recreated a day in the life of Philanthe, a fictitious youth borrowed from La Bruyere. The scenario provides a glimpse of the numerous and complicated rules that the polite person (honnête homme) had to follow to be agreeable in seventeenth century society, and, of course, of what the beginning teacher had to learn. Sample scenes cited below give a sense of the tone of Christian Politeness and of the atmosphere of the Christian School.

A Day in the Life of Philanthe

> Philanthe rises early for it is a shameful thing to have the sun find him in bed. He does not leave the bed uncovered and he does not put his pajamas anywhere they can be seen. He empties his night pot right away but not out the window into the street for that is against good behavior.
>
> He wipes his face with a clean white dry cloth. He knows that washing with water would only give him a cold and be bad for his health. He washes his hands, not only when he gets up, but as often during the day that they become dirty.
>
> Philanthe brushes his teeth every morning and after every meal because it is against good behavior that people see one's teeth unclean or stained. However, he never does this at table or before anyone for this is against good behavior.
>
> His clothes are clean but never of expensive material for that is reserved for a person of quality and he is only the son of a

merchant. That is the reason why it would be indecent for him to wear a feather in his hat or a sword at his side.

Philanthe spends the morning writing letters. Since the letters are to prominent people he makes certain to use quality paper folded over and to greet them by asking their blessing with vous.

Before eating lunch he waits until all his "superiors" have used the basin and he follows the rule of politeness of holding the corner of the towel while his "superiors" use it.

Grace is said by a small child because no priest is present. Philanthe starts to sit down without his hat, but as his superiors have their hats on, he immediately covers his head. To do otherwise would be against good behavior. He also waits for the others before unfolding his napkin. Philanthe knows that it is impolite to wipe his face or his teeth with his napkin, or, worst of all, to use it for a handkerchief.

Philanthe is disgusted to see his table partner break his bread into his wine as to make a soup. He laughs when he sees another impolitely holding a bone with his two hands and eating like a dog. He sees another malhonnête homme swallowing fruit seeds, cracking nuts with his teeth and spitting the shells onto his plate or throwing them on the floor or into the fire.

Invited to play chess politeness dictates to Philanthe that he offer his partner the white pieces and that he keep the black for himself. The others who are playing croquet or tennis are certain not to unbutton or remove any outer clothing, not even a hat, for these are very much against good behavior.

Philanthe knows that he should not pick his nose, nor wipe his nose with his sleeve, nor use his fingers to blow his nose, nor offer his handkerchief to another. He knows that he should not spit out a window, nor into the fireplace or any other place where one is not able to step on the spittle (to make it disappear).[177]

Conclusion

Part One of The Conduct, as a guide to teacher education in subject matter, operates under eight principles of instruction: preparation, organization, vernacular, apprenticeship, questioning,

utility, socialization, and religion. The Lasallian principles emphasize teacher preparedness, efficient organization, usefulness of subject matter, adaptation to the needs and interests of the pupils. DeLaSalle provides the beginning teacher with resources, textbooks, support and supervision to maximize his teaching efforts. DeLaSalle organizes the Christian School into learning units which provide for individual student needs, for a sense of order, and for a spirit of industry. DeLaSalle makes learning a rational, active, and vital process adapted to the individual. Uniformity and organization are not legalistic and intransigent; individual adjustments, by agreement with parents, are admitted. The Christian School provides a religious space with a physical, psychological, and moral atmosphere conducive to learning.

DeLaSalle makes the school useful to the student. In this respect DeLaSalle is innovative and progressive: education becomes a preparation for life. Reading is taught in the vernacular, and usefulness characterizes the curriculum. The educational theory of Claude Fleury served to describe the educational efforts of DeLaSalle as eminently practical. Lasallian teaching is realistic (on the students' level), progressive (from the simple to the complex), incremental (a little at a time), innovative (open to improvement), practical and uniform.

The Christian School is a place where the teacher candidate becomes an apprentice. He learns teaching not as a theoretical science but as a practical art. The activity of the student replaces

teacher explanations. The Lasallian teacher does not lecture. DeLaSalle exercises the beginning teacher in the art of questioning. The practical rules for teaching, simply and concisely stated in the nineteenth century edition of The Management of the Christian Schools, reflect what has been demonstrated in Part One since 1705.

> The master who teaches with method observes the following rules: 1. To determine the relative intelligence of every child in his class. 2. To adapt his language and explanations to the general capacity of his class, and to be careful never to neglect the duller pupils. 3. To make sure that the pupils know the meaning of the words they employ. 4. To advance from the simple to the complex, from the easy to the difficult. 5. To make it a special point to insist greatly on the elementary part of each subject; not to advance till the pupils are well grounded on what goes before. . . . 9. To state but few principles at a time, but to explain them well. . . . 10. To speak much to the eyes of the pupils, making use of the blackboard. . . . 11. To prepare every lesson carefully. 12. To place no faulty models or standards before the pupils; always to speak to them in a sensible manner, expressing one's self in correct language, good English, and with clearness and precision. 18. To assert nothing without being positively certain of its truth, especially as regards facts, definitions, or principles. 19. To make frequent use of the system of question and answer.[178]

DeLaSalle is involved in a "peaceful revolution" in education insofar as he promotes a wider use of incremental learning and small group instruction, abandons Latin in the name of realism, makes school useful to the students, and establishes a new type of pupil-teacher relationship based on gentleness, unpretentious friendliness, and mutual respect. DeLaSalle reforms the school by making it a human community. Chapter Five will study Part Two of The Conduct, wherein DeLaSalle describes the means for establishing and maintaining discipline in the school as a human community.

CHAPTER V

PART TWO OF THE CONDUCT: METHODOLOGY AND PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION

Introduction

The purpose in this chapter is to show that DeLaSalle is intent upon teacher education in pedagogical and psychological practices which build school community for problem children. While Part One of The Conduct assists the beginning teacher in fulfilling the daily responsibilities of instruction, Part Two deals with the entire year. Part Two focuses on the role of the teacher in creating a school community for problem children of the poor. DeLaSalle is at his best as a pedagogue psychologist developing strategies for the practical implementation of the teacher's responsibility for problem children. He presents vigilance, silence and signals, student records, restricted and moderated correction, rewards, calendar of holidays, student participation, understanding of problem children, and individual psychology as elements which, in the hands of a competent,concerned teacher, create school community.

The major obstacles to the formation of community in school in the seventeenth century were student disorder and absenteeism, teacher inefficiency, neglect, and cruelty. The nine chapters of Part Two of

The Conduct present practical pedagogical and psychological methods for remedying these deficiencies and for making school a human community. The first chapter advocates the necessity of teacher vigilance and attention to detail. Silence and the use of signs are employed to improve pedagogical efficiency and to preserve the teacher's health and energy. The chapter on record keeping is a treatise on individual psychology and the use of cumulative guidance records. The chapter on correction, the longest chapter in The Conduct, is the union of three short treatises against the use of punishment to establish classroom order and discipline. The first enumerates teacher faults which aggravate children, and describes the art of joining gentleness and firmness in dealing with problem children; the second details ten restrictions upon correction, to prevent teacher abuse; the third is a psychological study of problem children and of correction appropriately adapted to individual children. The shortest chapter deals with student rewards. The most significant chapter studies the causes and remedies of absenteeism, a major school problem in the seventeenth century. The study identifies the teacher as the major cause for the child not wanting to come to school. A short chapter specifies and publishes the calendar dates of all foreseen school holidays and special events. Part Two concludes with the description of a system for student participation in auxiliary services involving student class officers, providing needed teacher assistance, and creating a sense of community.

Vigilance

How DeLaSalle educates teachers to be accessible to the children of workers and the poor must be seen against the background of the origin and purpose of the Christian school.[1] DeLaSalle's point of departure is the actual economic, social, and moral living conditions of these children, the "street-wise kids" of the seventeenth century inner city.

> Consider that it is only too common for the working class and the poor to allow their children to live on their own, roaming all over as if they had no home, until they are able to be put to some work. These parents have no concern to send their children to school because they are too poor to pay teachers, or else they have to go out to look for work and leave their children to fend for themselves.
>
> The results of this condition are regrettable. These unfortunate children, accustomed to an idle life for many years, have great difficulty when it comes time for them to go to work. In addition, through association with bad companions they learn to commit many sins which later on are very difficult to stop, the bad habits having been contracted over so long a period of time.[2]

DeLaSalle establishes stable schools staffed with competent teachers dedicated to eliminating the ignorance and immorality produced by the miserable living conditions of the poor, and offering a secular, social and religious education designed to produce workers, citizens and Christians in service of church and state. He reforms the existing primary school to serve the needs of the children of the poor by means of adaptation, innovation, and applied psychology.[3] He makes teaching a rational, active, vital process adapted to the individual needs of poor children. He makes the program a preparation for the real life they have to live. He transforms the school into a human community.

> For schools that were inhuman places, feared and frequently condemned as jails where coercion and punishment were the order of the day, the brothers substituted human communities in which love was the motivating force.[4]

The schools conducted by DeLaSalle provide more than instruction. Seventeenth century primary education in the broad sense included character formation. Four pedagogical and pastoral means in Lasallian terms are available to the teacher for the education of children: instruction, prayer, good example and vigilance. Vigilance has a double function: to correct recitation mistakes and to prevent behavioral problems. It is both pedagogical and pastoral. Vigilance constitutes the consummate pedagogical art whereby the teacher is able to follow and to correct the student recitation and, at the same time, to be aware of the attention and behavior of the rest of the class.[5] The art of teaching incorporates the teacher's simultaneous awareness of the individual and the group. Vigilance is the key to successful teaching in the simultaneous method. The vigilant teacher is unlike the teacher of The Parish School who attends only to the student reciting because he has appointed student monitors (admoniteurs) to watch the rest of the class and to shout out the names of those fooling around and not doing their lessons.[6] Of course the warning shouts of the monitor only increase the disturbance of the lesson.

Vigilance refers especially to slow-learning, problem children over whom he is to watch more carefully. The vigilant teacher is alert to renew the attention of the slow students and to prevent their boredom. Getting and keeping the attention of slow-learning problem

children, who find it difficult to concentrate on books, is the result of vigilance.

> The teachers will aid the pupils to sustain their attention which is not naturally easy for them and which lasts for only a short span of time.
>
> The teacher will observe with very great care those who do not like to follow, and those who dispense themselves easily from this responsibility.[7]

The vigilant teacher makes use of frequent recitation and questioning.

> A very useful means of obliging the pupils to follow the recitation is to observe the following practices. The first is to watch them constantly and very carefully, particularly those who are not exact in following. The second is to make each one of them read several times, a little each time. The third is to oblige all who are discovered not to be following to come of their own accord to receive the punishment for their fault and, in order to incite them to be faithful, to pardon them sometimes, above all those who usually follow.[8]

By means of the practice of vigilance and patience the beginning teacher learns how to handle slow students.

> The directors of the houses or the inspectors of schools should watch over the teachers with great exactitude . . . and see to it that they apply themselves carefully to teaching the pupils in their charge, that they not neglect anyone of them, that they show the same concern for each of the pupils, particularly the slowest and the most neglected.
>
> The teachers should not exact from the slow learners what they are not capable of doing, nor should they reject them, but rather see to it that they advance, motivating them from time to time, and then be satisfied with the little progress that they are able to make.[9]

Vigilance, the most important duty of a teacher, includes the art of attention to detail: "To watch carefully means to watch over everything with attention, omitting nothing, neglecting nothing."[10]

Classroom discipline depends upon the teacher's attention to detail.

> In regard to teachers who are lax and who have no order in their classrooms, the remedy will be that the Brother Director or the

> Inspector supervise them and require them to account for all that takes place in their classes . . . however small and of little consequence it may appear.[11]

Vigilance is the necessary condition for the success of the educational work of the brother teacher. At stake is the usefulness of the school for the problem student.[12]

Unfortunately vigilance has too often been reduced by historians of education to mean surveillance more or less repressive. The reasons for this unfortunate reduction could well be rooted in the educational history of the seventeenth century. For example, The Parish School recommended that a jalousie be in the floor or door of the teacher's room so he could see the students without being seen: "The child was never to be left to himself."[13] The Jesuits employed a system of surveillance so effective in their colleges that the King of Prussia copied it for his army.[14] It was common practice in the seventeenth century to assign students to surveillance duty which extended the surveillance of the teacher into places ordinarily not available to him. DeLaSalle is persuaded that the good conduct of the school and the salvation of the problem children depends upon vigilant teachers, and he follows on the path of his predecessors.[15]

Nevertheless, surveillance is the least function of Lasallian vigilance. Vigilance is preeminently a pastoral act whose main function is foresight and prevention.[16] Exercised with calmness and tact (délicatesse), teacher vigilance is not to be oppressive or fatiguing.[17] The vigilant teacher is similar to a shepherd responsible for the safety of his flock.

> It is much easier for children to fall over some precipice because they are weak in mind as well as body and have little understanding of what is for their own good. They need the light of watchful guides to lead them on the path of salvation, guides who have an adequate understanding of young people, of their usual shortcomings, and of what God expects of them. Thus they will be able to help children be aware of pitfalls and keep away from them.
>
> This is why God has provided children with teachers, and why He has given teachers all the care and vigilance, as well as the responsibility, needed to prevent anything harmful to salvation from capturing the hearts of children.
>
> Do you believe, possibly, that you are responsible for your disciples only during the time of school, that your attention need not extend to their behavior outside of school, to help them as far as you are able to live elsewhere in a Christian manner, and to keep them from associating with bad companions during the entire time they are under your guidance?[18]

The vigilant teacher, attentive to his students, particularly to the slower and problem children, places them in class so that he can see everyone of them. The vigilant teacher does not allow students to prompt answers, to play with themselves, to bring bad books or pictures into school. If a teacher is not vigilant and can not keep order, then another teacher is appointed to do so for both classes. The pretext of the teacher's pious recollection is not permitted as an excuse for not being vigilant, even in church.

DeLaSalle is an educational realist who insists that the beginning teacher learn to deal with slower children and problem children as they are. DeLaSalle's realism avoids, however, the widespread radical pessimism for the poor, popular at the time: "Few young people go astray through depravity of heart. . . . Most are corrupted by bad example and by reason of the dangerous occasions they meet with."[19] The vigilant teacher is especially aware of the influence of bad

companions. The success of DeLaSalle's schools proves that wayward children are also capable of a filial and fraternal life.[20] The pastoral effect of teacher vigilance is an interior conversion of wayward children.

> You . . . can perform miracles . . . as regards your employment by touching the hearts of the wayward children entrusted to your care; by rendering your pupils obedient and faithful to the practice of the maxims of the Gospel; by making them pious and recollected in church and during prayers; and, finally, by encouraging them to be industrious in school and at home.[21]

Silence and The Signal

DeLaSalle is among the first schoolmen to require silence in the classroom as an absolute imperative for teacher health as much as sound pedagogy.[22] The large number of children in the classroom places a strain on the voice of the teacher and takes a toll on his nervous energy. DeLaSalle exempts the brother teachers from oral recitation of the Divine Office because the vocal effort would have added to the strain on larynx and lungs.[23] He makes silence a necessary condition for the successful operation of the simultaneous method: the correction of one has to be heard in order to serve as the correction of all. Students and teacher both operate under the same rule of silence. Students speak out loud only during recitation, catechism, and prayers. The teacher speaks out loud during recitations when no one else can correct a mistake, and during catechism, morning reflection, and afternoon examination of conscience. At other times the teacher speaks to individual students in a soft voice. What DeLaSalle intends is an atmosphere of quiet, necessary for study and attention.[24]

DeLaSalle introduces the use of signs and signals into the classroom to facilitate the general calm and the directions (de ménager) of the teacher and to keep down to a minimum the wear and

Classroom Signs and Signals

At Breakfast:	Clasp hands Sign of the cross Sound signal once, twice
At Lesson in Reading:	Tap book once, twice with signal Tap book once, twice with hand Sound signal once, twice Sound signal and point at student Point signal up, down
At Lesson in Writing:	Raise hand from right to left Look at student Sound signal once, twice
At Catechism:	Look fixedly and cross arms Look fixedly and lower eyes Look fixedly and stand straight
At Corrections:	Point to one of wall-posted rules Hold out hand
At Special Occasions:	Point signal towards self Point signal downwards Point signal towards door[25]

tear on his voice. The beginning teacher has to know all thirty-five signs and signals before going into the classroom. The 1705 edition speaks of a unique sign used in the writing class to get the attention of a student who is not writing: the teacher gives a soft, bird-like whistle (en pipant). The signal itself is a small, wooden, hand instrument which makes a clicking sound used to get the attention of the students. The origin of the signal is unknown. The signal is named in the 1705 edition but, unfortunately, it is not described.

The 1720 edition speaks of an iron instrument, although traditionally the signal is made of wood.

> Signal: formed of two strips of hard wood; a large round shape (one inch in diameter) near the end of one strip; a thinner strip is tied on to the large round shape by cat gut which goes around it. When the thin strip of wood is pressed and released, it snaps back against the other strip and makes a clicking sound. The signal represented the voice of the teacher and got the immediate attention of the students. The signal did away with repeated and fatiguing shouted commands, ringing of clocks and whistles by which the exercises and movements are indicated in the Lancastrian school.[26]

The "servants of the signal" are the five rules of good conduct displayed on the walls of every classroom. At a click of the signal the student looks to the teacher who points to the rule not being observed.

Servants of the Signal

> A good student is not absent or tardy without permission.
> A good student applies himself to his lessons.
> A good student does not waste time.
> A good student listens attentively to catechism.
> A good student prays with devotion.[27]

DeLaSalle has been criticized for his regulation on silence and his use of signals as "being afraid of life" and running "schools for mutes."[28] One historian wit half seriously describes DeLaSalle as having a "psychopathic horror of the least decibel" and the Christian School as having a "tomblike atmosphere."[29] Another critic curiously describes his method as "absolutely bad but relatively good."[30] However, in relation to the classroom disorder characteristic of the times, DeLaSalle's silence can be considered a virtue. If there is an abuse of mechanization in the use of signs, this method of communication can be justified by the large number of students in the class.[31]

Student Records

To paraphrase Chesterton: If you wish to teach Johnny algebra, make sure that you know, not algebra so much, but Johnny. DeLaSalle requires the teacher to learn the background, abilities, needs, character, and expected behavior of each student.[32] DeLaSalle's use of student records, teacher evaluation, and psychological understanding (psychologie individuelle) of the student's moral, physical, and intellectual behavior has its clear purpose: to know the child in order to educate him better. In this regard it is appropriate to test a comparison common in history of education textbooks: "DeLaSalle did for the primary schools what the Jesuits had done for the secondary schools."[33] At face value the statement is ambiguous and questionable because DeLaSalle's schools and the Jesuit colleges were very different. In view of these differences one wonders what similarity the historians of education had in mind. As a matter of fact the single similar educational contribution made by both the brothers and the Jesuits is their concern for each student in his personal and academic life. Personal interest of the teacher in each student has remained the pedagogical characteristic of the Christian Schools and of the Jesuit colleges through the centuries.

Concrete evidence of DeLaSalle's interest in the individual student is his fairly elaborate system of record keeping. The 1706 edition describes six school records kept on each student.

Student Records in the Christian Schools

Record of Reception: Information about the child and his family gathered from the parents or guardians during the initial interview.

Record of Good and Bad Qualities: Teacher evaluation of the student's character and behavior made out at the end of the school year and passed on to the student's next teacher.

Record of Promotions: Class lists of each order of the lesson indicating the student's progress by recording the dates of entry and promotion.

Record of Daily Attendance: Indication of presence, absence or tardiness kept on small wall charts by the first student of each bench.

Monthly Cumulative Record: Class lists of each order of the lesson on which the monthly accumulation of absences, tardies, poor catechism recitations, and illnesses was recorded by means of a series of dots.

Record of Home Visitations: Reports given to the teacher by two students assigned to visit the absent and the sick students in their neighborhood.[34]

The 1720 edition mentions only the record of promotion and the monthly cumulative record, plus a mysterious "pocket" record about which nothing is said. When the parish authorities assumed the responsibility for the acceptance of the pupils, no doubt the records continued to have their pedagogical value to the teacher, but they no longer required a public statement of their existence, and they are not mentioned in the 1720 edition of The Conduct. Apparently there was also a real danger that these records would be found during the raids of the writing masters, and there were too many curious people who would have sought out this confidential information. For the same reasons the model records in the 1720 edition do not contain student names. None of this recorded information was intended for communication to a third party.[35]

The record of reception, filled out during the initial interview with the student's parents or guardians, contains the following information.

> The complete name of the student, his age; if and when he was confirmed and made first communion; complete name, address, and parish of parents or guardians with whom the boy lives; last school he attended and the length of time, other schools he attended and the reason for leaving, the length of time he has been out of school; the lesson and order of lesson in which he is to be placed; the parents' vocational plans for the boy if he is older; any special conditions of his acceptance (for example: late arrival or early dismissal for family reasons).
>
> The director or inspector of schools is also to find out the boy's ability in reading and writing by making him write some letters and spell and read in French and in Latin from a book that is not common so that he will not be reading from memory. The director or inspector of schools is especially to find out if he has any infirmity such as epilepsy, or any communicable desease such as ringworm or skin sores. If the boy has a physical infirmity the director shall inform the parents if it will prevent the boy from being accepted, and if not, what he must do to be accepted. The director is also to find out how often the boy goes to confession, if he frequents with "bad gangs" (libertins), and if he sleeps alone or with someone and with whom.
>
> Sufficient blank space is to be left at the end of the record to write in at a later time an assessment of the boy's ability and character; if he has been confirmed or received first communion since he was accepted; his attendance and tardiness record; if he applies himself; if he learns easily; if he has been promoted regularly; if he knows his catechism; if he left school and the date; if he has been received back at a later date; if he left school a second time and for what reason; any other information the director or inspector of schools judges apropos.[36]

At the end of the school year an alphabetical list of the students' names with the page numbers on which their entries are contained is drawn up at the end of the book. Below is a sample entry of a record of reception from the 1706 edition.

Record of Reception
School at Reims, 1706

> Jean Mulot, received 31 August 1706, sixteen years of age, confirmed two years ago, first communion made last Easter; son of Joseph Mulot, a wool comber, living on rue de Contray, behind the shop at the sign of the Golden Cross, in the parish of St. Stephen. He has been put into the third order of writing and the first order of reading Christian Politeness. He will come at nine a.m. and again at three p.m. He has been two years at the school of Mr. Caba on rue St. Stephen, eight months at the school of Mr. Rabot, one year at the school of Mr. Huysbecq, and four months with schoolmaster, Mr. Mulot. He left the schools because his parents believed he would learn better elsewhere.
>
> He has an inconstant spirit. He is absent about twice each month because of his mother. He applies himself with average effort. He learns easily and has rarely failed to be promoted. He knows his catechism and a few prayers. He is given to lying and to overeating. He has average piety but no modesty. He left the school for three months during winter. He finally left for good on 31 August 1706 [sic] to learn the stone-carving trade.[37]

The record of reception is further evidence of DeLaSalle's effort to effect a primary education tailored to meet individual student needs. The Conduct, always realistic, orientates the concern of the teacher to the diversity of aptitude and background of his young students. They are the givens for the teacher to take into account if he wishes truly to reach his students (se mettre à la portée).[38] DeLaSalle follows the principle of psychology in education that it is necessary, first of all, to know a boy in order to educate him.

> The teachers were expected to know the child well, to know his family, the company he kept and his special difficulties. In this way the child could benefit from the teacher's experience, and the teacher, in turn, had a basis to encourage the child in his efforts.[39]

DeLaSalle takes into account the child's personal history. He never deals with the child abstractly (en soi). In the record of reception the "sense of the totality of the child, of a being unique in his

mystery and in his history, comes together, is concretized, and made explicit."[40] At the end of the initial interview the director issues a ticket of admission to the parents to present to the principal teacher at the particular school.

Ticket of Admission

> Jean Baptiste Gribouval: six years of age, living with Pierre Gribouval, his father, on rue de la Coutre in a room behind a shop; admitted to the school on rue de Tillois, 19 October 1706; to begin reading on the first line of the first chart.
>
> François Richard: twelve years of age, lived with his father Simon Richard, an inspector; and after his death, with his mother, Widow Richard, a saleslady of secondhand items; and after her death, with his uncle Jean Richard, a clerk in the bureau of documents, on rue de l'Oignon, in the house of the surgeon, second room from either the front or the rear; admitted to school on 1 May 1706; to write in the sixth order of round hand.[41]

DeLaSalle instructs teachers on the importance of recording the student's dominant behavior traits and reactions which reveal the depths of the heart (la fond du coeur). He encourages the teacher to know the mind and inclinations of the child in order to teach him in a suitable manner. Near the end of each school year the classroom teacher prepares a record of the good and bad qualities of each of his students. On the first school day of the following year the new teacher of these students is given the record of good and bad qualities for three months to facilitate his dealing with his new students. The director, in interview with the teachers, compares the reports of the successive teachers as an objective indication of the student's progress and of the teachers' judgments. The director gives the beginning teacher all the help he needs to write out properly the student evaluation report. The 1706 edition is very detailed about

what the teacher should include in the report on the good and bad qualities.

> They shall write the name and the surname of each student. How long he has been in school. The lesson and order he is in. His character. If he is pious in church and at prayer. If he is subject to lying, cursing, stealing, impurity, overeating. If he has good will or if he is incorrigible. Of the manner of dealing with him. If correction is useful to him or not. If he is assiduous in school. If he is absent often or rarely, for good reasons, and with or without permission. If he is exact about being on time and reporting to the teacher. If he makes trouble and fools around. If he learns well. If he has been promoted on time or if he has been kept longer then the usual time. If it was his fault or if he is a slow student (esprit pesant). If he knows his catechism and prayers. If he is obedient in school. If he is difficult, stubborn, and resistant to the teacher. If he is spoiled by his parents. If his parents do not want him corrected. If his parents complain about the school. If he has been an officer, in what office, and how he acquitted himself.[42]

The teacher is forbidden to reveal the defects of his pupils to anyone save the director, "lest they be received with prejudice in the upper classes." It is impossible to exaggerate the wisdom of this rule. The 1706 edition gives two models of the record of good and bad qualities.

Records of Good and Bad Qualities
The Fourth Class at School on Rue St. Placide, Paris, 1706

> François DeTerieux, age eight and a half years, has been coming to school for two years. He has been in the third order for writing since July 1. He is a restless boy who shows little piety or self-control in church or at prayer unless one is watching him. He is lightheaded and lacks self-control. He is fairly well behaved but he needs to be won over and encouraged to do well. Correction has little effect on him because he is lightheaded. He rarely misses school without permission except occasionally when he meets a dissolute companion who easily deters him because he is lightheaded. He is often tardy. His application to work is poor. He often daydreams and rests unless one is watching him. He learns easily, but he has twice failed to be promoted from the second order to the third order on account of his lack of application. He is obedient if one is firm with him; if not, he is stubborn. However, he is not of a difficult nature. Once he has been won over, he will do anything required. He is loved by

his parents who do not want him punished. He has not been made an officer because he is not really capable of the responsibility. He is alert, however, and would acquit himself well of his duties but for his often coming late.

Lambert DuLong, age twelve and a half years, has been coming to school for four years. He has been in the seventh order for writing for six months, and in the fifth order for reading registers and the fourth order for arithmetic since May 4. He is a scatter-brained, lightheaded boy, but he learns and retains easily. He has very little piety in church or prayer, and he rarely goes to the sacraments. His particular defect is pride and he becomes very upset when he is humiliated. Punishment is sometimes useful for him. He is normally hard working. He is very attentive at catechism, writing and arithmetic. He has always been promoted on time. He is submissive when he meets his master. Otherwise, he is disobedient. His parents are not displeased when he is corrected. He has been the reciter of prayers and the first in his bench, and he has performed these duties well.[43]

The inspector of schools keeps the record of promotions for each school. The names of the students are listed on a separate sheet for each order of the lesson with dates of entry and of promotion. The record of promotion is updated on the first of every month. Below is a model record of promotion:

Model of the Record of Promotion
Third Order of Writing

Entry Date	Name	Promotion Date
1 January	Jacques Maturin	2 April
1 March	Hubert Valle	3 June
2 May	Francois Duterioux	6 July
1 June	Nicolas Paulet	1 August
1 July	Louis Adam Rive	1 October
2 August	Jean Grimoine	2 November
1 October	Philippe Le Gendre	1 December
2 November	Pierre Le Large	2 February[44]

Each classroom teacher keeps his own class list in a ruled book with twenty-four pages, two pages for each month. The class list is updated and rewritten on the next two pages every month. The classroom teacher received a new book every year. The students' names are

grouped under the orders of the lesson. After the date of entry and the student's name there are four squares used to record absences with permission, absences without permission, tardinesses, and times the catechism was not known. The 1720 edition adds a fifth square to record sickness. The teacher enters the record at the end of each school day by means of a system of dots. In effect this class list is a monthly cumulative record. The fact that the model of the 1720 edition is dated March 1722 has been proposed as an argument that the models of 1706 are from a manuscript prior to that date.

Monthly Cumulative Record
The Third Class
School on Rue Princess, Paris, January, 1706

Date & Order	Student Name	Tard	Abs.P	Abs.S	Ign.Cat
1 June	Mathurin Mouchet				
	Denis Maillot				
	Antoine Renault				
	Antoine Dory				
	Antoine Fatrice				
3rd Order	Prudent Du But				
1 July	Antoine Du But				
	Denis Vison				
	Francois Thiery				
	Simon Cottin				
1 August	Jean Auge[45]				

Besides the monthly cumulative record kept by the classroom teacher there are two other attendance records, kept by student officers. A four-by-seven-inch card hanging from a nail on the wall at the end of each bench contains the names of the students of that bench. The best student of each bench is responsible to thread a piece of red ribbon before or after a name to indicate daily tardiness and absence.

Bench Daily Attendance Record

Absence		Tardy
	Damien Rivasson	
	Lambert Du Long	
	Martin Hacq	
	Jean Baptiste La Chapelle	
	Nicolas Du Four etc.[46]	

Groups of fifteen to twenty students living in the same neighborhood are assigned to students who visit sick absentees. The visiting student keeps a card containing the names and addresses of those in his group and employs the same system of threading a red ribbon after a name to indicate absence and the need for a home visitation.

Record of Home Visitations

0	Jean B. Lardier rue de Tillois	0	Andre Gazin rue Saint-Jacques	0
0	Nicole Ruvene rue de Bourgresle	0	Quentin Dubre rue Maillet	0
0	Nicolas Le Becq rue de la Couture	0	Henry Guimbert a la Couture	0
0	Pierre Drotin rue de Bourgresle	0	Jean Guimbert a la Couture	0
0	Joseph D'allure rue Chativer	0	Thiery Guimbert a la Couture	0
0	Nicolas Mulot rue des Tapissiers	0	Pierre Henry Vieille Couture	0
0	Pierre Jobart rue des deux Anges	0	Nicolas Muet Vieille Couture[47]	0

The student visitors report back to the teacher the physical condition of the absentees and any other pertinent information requested by the teacher. The record of home visitations is replaced in the 1720 edition by a fifth square on the teacher's monthly cumulative record.

Correction

The issue of corporal punishment is still controversial among educators today. In this regard a great deal of caution must be exercised in judging practices pertaining to another epoch from the point of view of the present (Autre temps, autres moeurs). "The paternal swat is the beginning of pedagogy" was considered a sound educational principle in the seventeenth century. The rod has been the scepter of education for centuries. Applied low enough and hard enough (mais, il faut la mesure) punishment supposedly had a medicinal effect on youth. In seventeenth century France corporal punishment was an accepted practice in educating children, even in the education of kings. Louis XIV received copious doses of punishment in his youth.[48] The Jesuits tried to diminish corporal punishment in the colleges but les Pères demanded their rights, and the matter was settled by hiring a corrector to administer the punishment.[49] In The Parish School two punishments are described, less brutal but more terrible than corporal punishment: prolonged isolation in darkness reserved for hardened repeat offenders and the seriously culpable; and the "place of the jackass," a true pillory for the inveterately lazy.

> The "jackass" shall be conducted around with some straw hanging in front of him from an attached stick. He shall be made to wear a dunce's cap and to be bridled with a piece of horse bridle, saddled with an old and dirty piece of sackcloth. On his back shall hang a plaque with the image of a jackass drawn. The teacher shall encourage the students to make fun of him.[50]

DeBathencourt's description reveals, among puerile details, that unpitying cruelty of the times which attracted the most refined people to the place of the exposition of criminals and of capital executions.

DeLaSalle does not make punishment a spectacle. Contrary to the general practice of the time, punishment in the Christian school is administered out of sight and in such a way that the one being punished can not be seen. DeLaSalle is ahead of his time in minimizing and humanizing punishment, and he is credited with having influenced the evolution of humane penal laws.[51]

In light of the universal attitude toward punishment and the pressure from parents and teachers, DeLaSalle is not able to eliminate punishment from school. However, The Conduct clearly indicates that DeLaSalle does everything he can, considering the prevailing mores and mentality, to minimize the use of corporal punishment. Unfortunately some historians have judged DeLaSalle's position on punishment without relating it to the times.[52] Logically the conditions imposed by DeLaSalle ought to lead to suppression pure and simple. DeLaSalle greatly reduces the practice of corporal punishment in school and surrounds it with salutary precautions. DeLaSalle's approach to the question of punishment shows a degree of common sense and moderation altogether remarkable for the times in which he lived.[53] Matthew Arnold says of this section of The Conduct: "Later works on the same subject have little improved the precepts, while they entirely lack the unction." Regarding his writing on correction DeLaSalle has been described as having the soul of a father and the mind of a psychologist.[54]

Blain tells us that DeLaSalle himself wanted the complete suppression of corporal punishment, but the first brother teachers

complained of their lack of success with undisciplined, lazy, and unruly pupils; they felt it was necessary for them to use corporal punishment. Adrien Nyel had lacked the ability to form them otherwise. DeLaSalle seems to agree as a matter of common sense that a teacher dealing with a large class of problem children will sooner or later be obliged to punish as a matter of duty.

> Without a shadow of a doubt, respectful remonstrances were made to DeLaSalle, who listened to the teachers' problems on the impossibility of conducting their classes without the aid of corporal punishment. For the less authoritarian among the teachers, corporal punishment was unfortunately, but necessarily, the ultime ratio. How else to obtain obedience from the rebellious, lazy, and street-wise children who attended the charity schools? DeLaSalle must have listened to these concerns of the teachers and he must have consented to corrections, in pity for the unfortunate children, to make up for the culpable neglect of their parents.[55]

The only thing said about corporal punishment in The Rule of 1705 is a brief statement of prohibition.

> They shall take particular care not to use injurious names, or any other name, except the student's own. They shall not touch or strike any student with hand or foot. They shall not rebuke them rudely.[56]

The Conduct of 1706, however, is filled with prescriptions of restriction, precaution and moderation discouraging the use of corporal punishment. There are significant textual changes and eliminations in the 1720 edition which indicate a further reduction in punishment and a multiplication of student rewards.[57] Blain says that in 1733 the brothers were considering the total suppression of corporal punishment. However, it was not until 1777 that the General Chapter finally banned the strap and the rod. The ferule was not restricted until 1838 and finally suppressed in 1860.

There are two classroom sites of punishment.[58] One for slighter offenses is before the teacher's chair where the miscreant receives on his nonwriting hand one blow of the ferule, never more than two. The other site for serious offenses is a place out of sight of the students where the offender prepares himself with lowered britches and receives the stripes, usually three and never more than five. Neither the teacher nor the student speak during the punishment. Students are warned beforehand against putting their thumb in their palm, pulling their hand back, or putting their hand over their buttocks. Afterwards the teacher will speak to the student in private to see that he is disposed to improve, that he understands that the teacher acted for the common good of the class, and that he is not resentful. Punishments are never given in the morning and never at the end of school. No punishment is administered on the basis of accusation unless the offense upon investigation is proven true. No punishment is administered at request of parents, "because parents often speak this way from anger."

> If parents come to school to accuse their children and say that they should be punished, the children should not be punished on this account. Parents often speak like this from anger, and they would not do so at any other time. If, however, the fault deserves punishment, the parents must be given to understand that they should punish their children themselves.[59]

Warning, reprimand, and penance are the common means of correction, although DeLaSalle is not in favor of unconditional warnings or reprimands given to the whole class: "It seems much better not to make use of them at all." If used, warnings are to specify that the reason for the correction is the student's wrong behavior (not studying, not

praying) and not his childish behavior (turning around, pinching someone). If the teacher gives a warning, then it is important that he follow through. DeLaSalle prefers penances in the form of profitable, written assignments or memorized lines as a means of correction: "Ordinarily penances will be used more than punishments." Penances are to be remedial, proportioned to the fault, useful, and not ridiculous or a waste of time. Some examples of penances mentioned in The Conduct are coming early to school, learning something from the diocesan catechism, reading more than the others during recitation, writing an appropriate page or two at home, repeating the catechism recitation after school, being deposed from class officership for some days, standing in the middle of class during prayers. "The most appropriate penance and the one that is of the greatest utility is to give the pupils something to learn by heart." The ultimate punishment, expulsion, is reserved for the dissolute who corrupt other students, the chronic absentees, and the incorrigible. Expulsion is rare, and it is reserved to the director: "It should, however, be an extraordinary occurrence to send a pupil away from school." Actually expulsion is a temporary suspension made final only after the offender is given a second chance.

DeLaSalle's pastoral orientation and treatment of correction prescribed in The Meditations is more satisfying to us.[60] To touch hearts and to win hearts are the repeated recommendations of DeLaSalle to his teachers. However, the letters exchanged between the teachers and DeLaSalle frequently mention the practical difficulties the

teachers were having in joining gentleness and firmness in matters of discipline. DeLaSalle repeatedly recommends that the teachers not lose their patience in class. One senses that DeLaSalle is preoccupied with this delicate and important question. Does treating children with affection, dignity, gentleness and respect prevent using reasonable correction and, as a last resort, corporal punishment to maintain order and attention? How should a teacher give penances and corrections without destroying the quality of the affective bond which the goodness and the affability of the teacher have woven between him and the student?[61] DeLaSalle uses thirty-nine pages of The Conduct to respond.

> The correction of the pupils is one of the most important things to be done in the schools and one with which the greatest care must be taken in order that it may be timely and beneficial, in respect to both those who receive it and those who witness it. For this reason, there are many things to be considered in regard to the use of the corrections which may be administered in the schools and which will be discussed in the following articles, after the necessity of joining gentleness to firmness in the guidance of children has been explained.[62]

The chapter on correction begins by highlighting the necessity of joining gentleness to firmness in the guidance of children: "Experience affords sufficient proof that we must act toward them in a manner at the same time both gentle and firm." However, experience also reveals how difficult it is for teachers to achieve this balance.

> If complete authority and too much power, for example, are assumed in dealing with children, it appears difficult that this manner of controlling them should them should not become too harsh and unbearable. On the other hand, if too much consideration is had for human weakness, and, under pretext of having compassion for them, children are allowed to do as they will, the result will be wayward, idle and unruly pupils. What, then, must be done in order that firmness may not degenerate into harshness, and gentleness into languor and weakness?[63]

DeLaSalle requires the teacher to examine himself before all else on two counts: being too harsh and being the cause of the misbehavior of his pupils. DeLaSalle lists six teacher behaviors that render a teacher unbearable to his students.

> The teacher's penances are too rigorous, due to his poor judgment and lack of discretion. His language is harsh, due to his uncontrolled impatience or anger. He nags and expects too much from the student. He is not fair and treats little things and big things with the same ardor. He is unreasonable and refuses to listen to excuses. Forgetting his own weakness, he does not sympathize with the weakness of the child and he acts as though he were dealing with an insensitive instrument, rather than a creature capable of reason.[64]

DeLaSalle also gives six reasons why students become careless and negligent. All six have to do with failings of the teacher.

> The teacher is not consistent and neglects little things which cause disorder. He does not enforce the school regulations. He does not follow through with what he says that he will do. He shows favoritism. He speaks without conviction and without feeling. He loses the respect of the children by speaking too often, too foolishly, or by acting in an undignified manner.[65]

DeLaSalle encourages the teacher to be firm in attaining the end of correction but gentle in the means of attaining it.

> It is necessary to have great patience, without, however, permitting the children to aspire to impunity or to do what they wish . . . for in such matters there should be no gentleness. We must know that gentleness consists in never allowing any harshness or anything whatsoever that savors of anger or passion to appear in reprimands, but in showing therein the gravity of a father, a compassion full of tenderness, and a certain gentleness, which must be, however, lively and efficacious.[66]

DeLaSalle is emphatic in maintaining that order and learning in the classroom are never achieved by means of punishment. Frequent punishment only causes disorder in school. The good teacher rarely, if

ever, has to punish. DeLaSalle encourages the teacher to seek means other than punishment to establish discipline.

> It is necessary to note well that it is silence, restraint, and watchfulness on the part of the teacher that establish and maintain good order in a class, and not harshness and blows. A constant effort must be made to act with skill and ingenuity in order to keep the pupils in order while making almost no use of punishments. . . . There are various other means which the ingenuity of a skillful and thoughtful teacher will suggest.[67]

DeLaSalle repeats the ten conditions, previously listed in The Collection, which make correction useful. Seven of these conditions apply to the teacher; three apply to the student. The ten conditions seek to assure the dignity of the teacher, the submission of the student, and the efficacy of the sanction to restore order, to correct the offender and to prevent further failures.

> The correction should be: without any emotion against the student; for the good of the student; proportional to the fault committed in nature and degree; examined beforehand as deserving; moderate,being always less than more; deferred, never precipitous; prudent; understood by the student; accepted as deserving; always received in silence.[68]

In addition DeLaSalle warns the teacher against faults to be avoided in administering punishment.

> There shall be no punishment that is not useful to the class as well as to the student. (In this regard advice and permission must be obtained from the director.) No punishment that can be harmful to the student. No punishment that disturbs the class. No punishment motivated by feelings of aversion or annoyance. No punishment motivated by displeasure with the disrespect shown by the student or his parents. No punishment using insulting words, such as knave, rascal, sniveler. No punishment other than those permitted. (They shall never touch the student.) No punishment given on impulse or with anger. No punishment by a teacher, who is under twenty-one, or doing his six-month probationary practice teaching, or only one year out of the novitiate. No punishment by a teacher who is new in a school until he knows his students.[69]

DeLaSalle prescribes that correction, based on individual guidelines, be preventive, medicinal, corrective and exemplary.[70] Administered under these guidelines and restrictive conditions, correction is not only to bring about amendment but also to keep alive the desire of the student to imitate his teacher. DeLaSalle recommends forgiveness of correction as "one of the best means of winning and touching the heart of those who have committed faults and of disposing them to be converted."[71] He frequently advises the teacher to pretend not to know about an offense deserving punishment. His message to the beginning teacher regarding correction is clear: if a teacher has problems with discipline, let him examine himself as being at fault; school discipline is never obtained by punishment; punishment should be given rarely and always with moderation and restraint.

Psychology of Problem Children

DeLaSalle is profoundly at his best when he speaks about understanding and caring for problem children. They are the products of the terrible economic, social, and moral living conditions of the poor: the slow learners, the mentally deficient and socially maladjusted. Problem children constitute the point of departure for his educational efforts, and they are never to be neglected.[72] He prepares the beginning teacher to deal with problem children by describing their symptomatic behavior, the causes of their disturbances, and the practical means of their corrective education. DeLaSalle does not have twentieth century scientific psychological

knowledge of delinquency and of corrective education. However, his phenomenological description of the problem student's character, intelligence, and appearance in the social context of the seventeenth century seems to portray accurately what is called today a maladjusted child.[73]

On the basis of character DeLaSalle describes nine kinds of problem children. Light-headed children: Their defect does not come from malice but from a lighthearted spirit. They think little and a short time after being corrected, they commit the same faults. They easily absent themselves from school. Stubborn children: DeLaSalle distinguishes two types: those who resist the teacher who tries to correct them and those who, after correction, murmur and complain. Spoiled children: There are those children who are raised in such a manner by their parents that they receive all that they ask for. They are never contradicted and they are never corrected for their mistakes. Their parents show them every tenderness, and they do not want them to receive the least correction. Insolent children: They are those who are always ready with a reply and ready to resist. Wayward children: These are ordinarily inclined toward vice following upon loose habits. Waywardness results in an instability which causes the child to be frequently absent. The wayward child's emotions reject piety. Badly-brought-up-children: These children do exactly what they want from morning until night. They have no respect for their parents. They murmur. Vicious children: The vices to which

these children are subject include: lying, fighting, stealing, impurity, lack of respect in church. Incorrigible children: These are the children who, having been corrected a great number of times, do not change their behavior. Malicious children: These are children who have their heart and their spirit badly disposed, who have "malice of heart" which affects their judgment. These children are profoundly disturbed.[74]

On the basis of intelligence DeLaSalle describes problem children as ignorant, stupid, and "close to being animal" (hébété), to indicate degrees of mental deficiency. The ignorant child is dull; the stupid child is slow learning; the hébété child is the most seriously mentally deficient. "They shall not accept any student who is so stupid or hébété that he is not able to learn, and who is able to deter others and to cause trouble in class."[75] DeLaSalle describes characteristic classroom behavior of these intellectually impaired students.

> The ordinary mistakes made by these pupils are associated with their inability to follow the lesson, to read well, to retain or to repeat well, to be able to learn anything or at best very little.
>
> There are some children who ordinarily act without thinking, and who follow the first impression which comes into their mind and into their imagination.[76]

Numerous passages in The Conduct allude to the difficulties these students have with attention and memorization. DeLaSalle describes students who are so slow (l'esprit si pesant) that they are not able to remember an answer unless it has been repeated several times; students for whom application is not naturally easy and is ordinarily

for a very short duration; students who are so slow that they are not able to follow the lesson. DeLaSalle may be referring to students with perception problems (dyslexia) when he speaks of children who are subject to spelling letters out of order, for example, om for mo.[77]

On the basis of external appearance DeLaSalle describes these children as unkempt, in poor health, and neglected by their parents. They are often not properly clothed, washed, combed or free of lice. Malnutrition and lack of hygiene frequently show up as ringworm and open sores. To protect the others, children who have skin diseases are not accepted into school. If a child catches a disease, for whatever reason, after he is accepted into school, he is sent to a doctor and allowed to return to school only after he is cured. If parents, who promised in the initial interview to keep their children neat and clean, grow negligent and the children become lice-infected, then they are separated from the other students.[78]

DeLaSalle attributes the misbehavior of problem children to five causes: parental neglect or permissiveness, lack of good example, poor training, lack of an ideal or a value system, and distorted human nature. His five-point etiological analysis has a surprising modern lucidity. DeLaSalle distinguishes two kinds of affective frustration in children of negligent or permissive parents: that resulting from the abandonment of the child to himself from a very early age; that resulting from the permissiveness of parents who idolize their children.

> All disorders among the artisans and the poor ordinarily come from the fact that they have been abandoned to their own conduct and very badly brought up from a very early age.

> There are some children who are brought up in such a manner by their parents that they give them everything that they ask for. They never contradict them in anything, and they never correct their faults. It seems that they are afraid to cause them pain. When the children do anything the least bit hurtful, the parents and especially the mothers, do all that they can to sooth them and to put them back into good humor. On every occasion they show them great tenderness, and they do not tolerate that anyone correct them in any way.[79]

DeLaSalle believes that in the family of the seventeenth century poor the mother is affectively attached too much to the child while the father is not able to reestablish an equilibrium by the proper exercise of his authority. The brother teacher's role is to establish an equilibrium by serving for a part of the day as a father figure.[80] DeLaSalle's insistence that the student wear clean and proper clothes and eat breakfast and lunch in school underscores the lack of hygiene and manners in the families of the poor. DeLaSalle is obsessed by the corrupting influence of bad companions. He believes that most problem children are influenced to evil by the bad companions whom they meet in the streets.[81] He condemns the teacher as a false prophet who does not take the time and effort to prevent his students from associating with bad companions. Bad companions and poor training lead to the acquisition of deeply engrained bad habits: tardiness, absenteeism, laziness, withdrawal; showing aggression by being stubborn, throwing stones, and fighting; being vicious by lying, stealing, and impurity. DeLaSalle is not describing normal misbehaviors of children.[82] He is referring to behavior of problem children that is habitual, recidivist, symptomatic and quasi-irreversible.

> These unfortunate children, accustomed to an idle life for many years, have great difficulty when it comes time for them to go to work. In addition, through association with bad companions they

> learn to commit many sins which later on are very difficult to stop, the bad habits having been contracted over so long a period of time.
>
> If left to their own willfulness, they run the risk of ruining themselves and causing much sorrow to their parents. Faults repeated will become habits and very difficult to correct. The good and bad habits contracted in childhood and maintained over a period of time ordinarily become second nature.
>
> It is practically impossible to correct later in life the disorders, especially of workers and the poor, because the bad habits they have contracted are corrected with great difficulty and almost never completely.[83]

Unfortunately problem children often have parents who are scarcely concerned with religion, education, or the promotion of Christian virtues in their families.

> It is one of the principal responsibilities of fathers and mothers to raise their children in a Christian manner and to teach them their religion, but most are not sufficiently informed in this regard or are too occupied with temporal affairs.
>
> The poor are ordinarily little disturbed with the lack of instruction concerning their salvation, not having any religion themselves.[84]

When the parents of problem children do not see any signs of interest in their children for learning, they often take them out of school early to go to work. DeLaSalle, therefore, places upon teachers the obligation to make parents realize the harm they do their children.[85] However, he reluctantly accepts that there are a few, very few, children who have naturally deficient dispositions and incorrigible, malicious inclinations. Such children are profoundly disturbed, and the good of the other children requires that they not be kept in school.

The beginning teacher is expected to learn how to deal effectively with problem children in light of DeLaSalle's description and analysis of problem children.

> Those who come to your school are persuaded that you have received the grace to put up with the weak, to teach the ignorant, and to correct the delinquent.[86]

DeLaSalle requires the teacher to project a positive, constructive attitude in the presence of problem children and to exercise preventive watchfulness over them. Loving vigilance is an essential in the corrective education of problem children.[87] Below are listed some other corrective measures DeLaSalle proposes as appropriate for various types of problem children.[88]

Light-headed: Since their faults are due to lightness of spirit, the teacher shall prevent difficulties in the classroom by strategically placing the children. The teacher shall show them signs of affection and from time to time give them some reward so as to make them more interested and loving toward the school because they are the ones who absent themselves most easily and because rewards help them to be peaceful and silent while they are in school.

Spoiled: It is ordinarily not necessary to correct them, but to prevent their fault by some means, or to give them some easy penance to do, or to pretend not to notice them, or to warn them gently. If the means used to prevent their faults or to remedy them are unsuccessful, it is better to send them away than to punish them. Of course, this should be done only after having spoken with the parents.

Stubborn: It is always necessary to correct the stubborn, above all when they are stubborn in a correction. If a teacher is not able to prevent a pupil whom he has corrected from murmuring, crying, or troubling the school in some way, it is ordinarily better not to correct him and to try to ignore him when he does not study or perform his responsibilities.

Sickly, Small, Timid, New: It is of importance that they should not be punished. A sick child is to be checked by a doctor and then sent home until he recovers. A small child should be watched carefully because it is difficult for him to observe the decorum and restraint expected of him. It is ordinarily better to correct a small or timid child by giving him a penance that is easy to perform, by preventing his faults in some skillful way, pretending not to see them, or by admonishing him gently in private. One must refrain from punishing a child who is just beginning to come to school. It is necessary, first to know his mind, nature and inclinations. He should ordinarily be left about a fortnight in school before being punished. Punishment of newcomers can only repel them and alienate them from school.

Badly Brought Up: If they do not naturally have a harsh and haughty spirit, it is very necessary not only to win them over, but also to correct them of their bad humor. If they have a harsh and haughty nature but are judged capable, it is helpful to give them something to do in the school such as being inspector or collector of papers. It is also helpful to advance them in some ways, such as in

writing or arithmetic, so as to give them affection for the school. Eventually it will be necessary to correct them and to make them masters of themselves without leaving them to their own will. If these pupils are young, fewer measures should be taken.

Vicious: All lies, even the smallest, should be punished. However, it is necessary that the pupils realize that they will be pardoned or punished less severely when they confess honestly and when they humbly ask pardon. They should be inspired to impose upon themselves a penance. Those who fight as well as those who steal are to be corrected in the same manner.

Truant: If a child misses school through carelessness, the teachers should take care from time to time to motivate him and to encourage him with rewards and to help him to become interested in school. Above all the teachers should never menace the absentee with correction. If a child is absent through waywardness, it is necessary to take great care to remedy his absence. One should stop at nothing to prevent it because this type of child is ordinarily inclined toward evil, and vice follows wayward absence (libertinage). It would be useful to give some jobs to these truants, if they are judged capable. This will engender an affection for the school in them and will sometimes even cause them to be an example for others.

Stupid: The teachers should not exact from the slow learners what they are not capable of doing, nor should they reject them. Rather they should see to it that they advance, motivating them from time to time, and then being satisfied with the little progress that

they are able to make. The directors of the houses or the inspectors of the schools should watch over the teachers with great exactitude, and see to it that they apply themselves carefully to teaching the pupils in their charge; that they not neglect any one of them; that they show the same concern for each of their pupils, particularly the slowest and the most neglected.

Unkempt: From the time that a new pupil is accepted, the parents are expected to see to it that his clothes are clean, that he comes to school properly clothed and washed, and that his hair be properly combed and clean of vermin. Children whose parents are negligent and who have vermin should be separated from the students who are kept clean.[88]

DeLaSalle is not satisfied that the teacher knows each student well and that he moderates and suits correction to individual temperaments. DeLaSalle encourages the teachers to consider problem students who were under their guardianship (tutelle) as orphans for whom, we would say today, they are father substitutes. In this regard the children model their behavior after that of their teachers. The rapport between the teacher and the problem child is comprehensive, firm and affectionate. Records on family background, personal behavior, and teacher evaluation provide an insight and objectivity which guide the teacher in the corrective education of a problem child. Correction has to conform to the individual character of the problem student.

> This is one of the essential qualities required of those who instruct others, for they must get to know their pupils, and discern the manner in which to act towards them. It is necessary

> to show more kindness towards some, to be more firm towards others. Some demand a lot of patience while others require prodding. Some must be punished to correct them of their faults and others must be watched continually to prevent them from losing themselves or from going astray.[89]

The teacher is to love his students and to be aware of the educative force of affection.

> If you show towards your pupils the firmness of a father in extricating them from disorder, you must also show for them the tenderness of a mother in doing for them all the good you are able.
>
> It is necessary that you pay attention to the obligation you have of winning their hearts as one of the principal ways of engaging them to live Christian lives.
>
> By your zeal, give sensible signs that you love those whom God has confided to your care.
>
> They will love all their pupils tenderly . . .[90]

Rewards

The chapter on rewards is the shortest chapter in The Conduct, two pages. The size of the chapter reflects the humble origins of the students and the philosophy of DeLaSalle regarding competition. DeLaSalle's school has no brilliant ceremony at the end of the school year for the distribution of awards to the elite amidst theatrical performance and social celebration. The parents could not leave shop or work to come to school. The celebration of their son's success waits until evening at home. The end of the school year is relatively calm. The last day of the school year is spent preparing the students, especially the very young and those not returning, with good counsels about how to spend their summer vacation with profit. There

are no promotions or special awards at the end of the year; they are distributed at the beginning of the next school year.

DeLaSalle keeps competition down to a minimum in the Christian Schools. His thinking about competition is interpreted in a twenty-six page circular letter published by Agathon in 1786. The fact of the end of the year examinations (répétitions publiques) is accepted, but their abuse is decried as being against the spirit of The Conduct: teachers giving too much attention to preparing a small select group of students; slower students resenting the difference being made between them and the more gifted; slower students accusing teachers of partiality; all this as being against the purpose of the Christian Schools.[91] Agathon concludes that the traditional practices of emulation originated by DeLaSalle suffice to encourage poor children in their efforts. For DeLaSalle emulation, not competition, is the soul of advancement (l'âme de l'avancement). Awards are an integral part of his school program. The awards are distributed throughout the year, and always in the classroom. Extraordinary awards are given every month by the director or inspector of schools. Ordinary awards are given every week by the teacher. The awards recognize effort and sincerity as well as achievement and are meant to encourage everyone.

Awards in Each Class

Monthly award for overall excellence in piety, effort and achievement.
Monthly award for piety.
Monthly award for highest achievement in each lesson.
Weekly awards (two) for achievement in catechism.
Weekly awards (two or three) for effort in lessons.

> From time to time, the teachers will give rewards to those of their pupils who are the most exact in fulfilling their duties, in order to incite them to do so with pleasure and to stimulate the others by the hope of reward.
>
> There are three kinds of rewards which will be given in the schools: First, rewards for piety. Second, rewards for ability. Third, rewards for assiduity.
>
> The rewards for piety will always be more beautiful than the others, and the rewards for assiduity better than those for ability.
>
> The things which may be given as rewards will be of three different degrees: First, books. Second, pictures on vellum, plaster statuettes. . . . Third, pictures on paper, engraved texts, and even rosaries.
>
> Engraved texts will most commonly be given to the pupils as rewards. The pictures and texts will always be religious ones.[92]

The Christian Schools distinguish themselves by their means of emulation.

> The Christian Schools did not give the children of the poor the desire and taste for applause. . . . Their system of emulation is characteristic. Each day the teacher distributes "good points" for demonstrated piety, effort and achievement. Each week, in exchange, whoever has enough points is able to receive an award. At the end of the month, with the director/inspector of schools presiding, more valued awards are distributed. The students are called up in order of merit. There is nothing theatrical about the event. However, the student's heart beats faster and his hand hesitates longer before selecting, with regret, only one of the awards, and it is thus each month. It is in the classroom that the activity of the student took place. The classroom shall be the theatre of his triumph.[93]

DeLaSalle infuses the spirit of emulation into the school by means of monthly and weekly rewards of books and objects of piety, by rapidity of progress, infrequency of punishment, advancement in place, offices of service and honor, weekly and monthly reports, and by engendering a love for school.

Absence

The chapter on absence is one of the most beautiful and significant chapters in The Conduct. The purpose of the chapter is to help the teacher to stabilize the student: to motivate the student to become attached to the school the same way teachers are attached to their profession. The motivation of the child is more complicated because he can only be reached if his parents are persuaded that schooling is helpful, if not necessary, for their child. DeLaSalle prepares his teachers to value and to obtain the cooperation of the parents in the important matter of regular school attendance. The compulsory school attendance law in effect in 1695 required parents to send their children to school until the age of fourteen.[94] Parents could be fined for non-compliance. However, the law does not seem to have been strictly enforced. It had not yet entered into the acceptable mores that police bring in truant children. In this matter DeLaSalle is not legalistic or authoritarian. His concern is for the students, not for the legal ordinances of the government authorities. Instead of having recourse to available external constraints, DeLaSalle wins the cooperation of parents by means of the professional quality and utility of the brothers' teaching. Of course, there is only one argument for the child which motivates him to attend school: that there is an adult there, the teacher, whom he is able to love.[95] Unfortunately three of the seven causes of frequent absence which DeLaSalle identifies for purpose of remediation concern the teacher.

His diagnoses and remedies of frequent school absence are listed below.[96]

Light-headedness: Some students follow the first idea that comes into their minds. They go to play with the first child they meet. It is very difficult for this kind of child not to be absent from time to time. All that can be done is to keep the absence rare and of short duration. Such pupils should not be punished. Punishment will do them no good. They will be induced to come to school more by gentleness and by winning them in some other way: stimulating and encouraging them by some reward or by some outdoors task that they can do. Above all, the teacher should not threaten them with punishment.

Waywardness (libertinage): Some children cannot remain cooped up in the same place all day with their minds attentive. They love to run about and play. They are also inclined to get into trouble and they easily become accustomed to vice. Everything should be done to anticipate and prevent their absence. Much must be done to attract them and to win them. It will be helpful to assign them as student officers; this will give them a liking for the school. At the same time they should be treated with firmness and punished when they are truant. They should be shown affection for the little good things they do and rewarded for little things.

Distaste for School: Some children are absent because they have acquired a distaste for school due to a new teacher who was not sufficiently formed, who did not know how to conduct himself in

school, and resorted at once to punishment, or who was too lax and had no order or silence in his class. The remedy for absences of this sort is not to leave a teacher alone in a classroom, and not to give him entire charge of one until he has been thoroughly trained by some brother of great experience in the schools. This practice is of very great importance, both to promote the welfare of the teachers and the pupils and to prevent frequent absences as well as various other disorders. In regard to teachers who are lax and who have no order in their classrooms, the remedy will be that the director or the designated teacher watch over them and require them to account for all that takes place in their classes -- above all, when they have neglected to look after the absent or have been remiss in one of their duties, however small and of however little consequence it may appear.

Dislike for teacher: Some children have little affection for their teacher because he is not friendly or he does not know how to win them or he has a somber and stern look (exterieur sombre et sauvage) or he shouts at them and on almost every occasion resorts to severity and punishment. The remedy for this kind of absence will be for the teacher to endeavor to be more friendly and to acquire an affable, polite, pleasant (ouvert) appearance without, however, assuming an undignified or familiar manner. . . The teacher should be convinced that authority is acquired and maintained in school more by firmness, seriousness, and silence than by punishment and harshness; and that the principal cause for frequent absences is frequent punishment.

Negligence of Parents: Some children have parents who neglect to take the trouble to make them assiduous in coming to school. Such parental neglect is common among the poor. The parents may also be indifferent or antagonistic (froideur) towards school, persuaded that their children learn very little or nothing in school and that it would be better for them to go to work. The remedy, which involves teacher contact with parents and explanations which convince them otherwise, will be discussed later.

Laxity of the School: Some schools have teachers or an inspector of schools who too easily tolerate absences, give permission for absence, accept excuses, and receive back students absent without permission. The remedy, which involves firm school policy on absence, is explained later.

Irresponsibility of Student Visitors: Some students or their parents are able to bribe, influence, or intimidate the student who visits the absent so that he makes a false report to the teacher regarding the absence. The student visitor could also neglect to visit the home and fabricate a report. The remedy consists in appointing student home visitors who have the required qualities; changing the student home visitor who is not capable and does not acquit himself well; checking the attendance cards everyday; questioning the home visitors separately to check their stories; forbidding the home visitors to receive any gifts from the absentee or his parents; sending another student to visit the home during the school day.

DeLaSalle proposes several ways of dealing with negligent or dissatisfied parents who are the cause of their children's absence from school. The teacher is to meet with the parents and make them see the harm they are doing to their children by not making them learn to read and to write.

> It should be represented to them of what importance it is to an artisan to know how to read and to write well since, however little intelligence the child may have, if he knows how to read and to write, he is capable of doing anything.
>
> In the case where the parents are tempted to withdraw their child from school, at a young age or before he is sufficiently instructed, in order to send him to work, the teacher should try to make them understand that they are making a serious mistake and that, in order to gain a few things immediately, they would lose considerable advantages later. The parents should be shown the advantages for an artisan to be able to read and to write.[97]

The teacher is to explain to the parents that it is impossible for their child to learn if he continues to be absent, since he forgets in one day what he learned in several. DeLaSalle accommodates the school to the legitimate needs of the family, and he accepts on a regular part-time attendance basis students who have to work.

> Parents must be urged to send their children, if not for the full day, at least for the afternoon. It will be necessary to watch very carefully over children of this sort and to take close care of them.[98]

The teacher is also charged to convince the parents that they harm their children by depriving them of instruction in matters concerning their salvation. However, DeLaSalle does not seem to have much faith in this approach: "The poor are ordinarily little touched by these matters since they themselves do not practice their religion." DeLaSalle believes in obligatory instruction, and he is prepared to

impose sanctions on negligent parents. He instructs the directors of the schools to send a note with the names of negligent parents to the pastor (and to the Sisters of Charity) reporting the absenteeism and requesting that alms be withheld from those on the parish dole unless they send their children regularly to school.[99] The most effective means by which DeLaSalle convinces the parents of the value of regular school attendance is to deal directly with the children in order to attract them to come to school.

> Ordinarily the children of the poor do as they wish, their parents having no care of them. Some even idolize their children, so that what the children want, they want. Thus it is enough that their children want to come to school for parents to be content to send them there.[100]

His approach to parents who excuse absence on the grounds that their children are learning very little in school is to obviate these complaints by assuring teacher competence.

> He had the directors/inspectors of schools supervise with great care all the teachers under their direction, particularly those of lesser ability. They must see that the teachers instruct as diligently as possible all the pupils who are entrusted to them; that they neglect none; that they apply themselves to all, but especially to the more ignorant and more negligent; that they keep order in the schools; that the pupils do not absent themselves frequently. The liberty with which they are allowed to be absent is often the cause of their learning nothing.
>
> He never put a teacher into a writing class who was not capable of teaching writing.
>
> He never placed, or allowed to remain, in any school a teacher who was not capable of doing a good job of teaching the children entrusted to him.
>
> He recognized that the ability of teachers was not the same for all. Some are naturally more firm, vigilant and conscientious than others, and they are able to teach a larger number of students than those with less ability. Therefore, he proportioned the number of students assigned to a class to the ability of the teacher to teach them well.[101]

parents are told not to listen to their children complaining about their teachers. If the parents have a complaint, they are to come to school and discuss the matter with the teacher or the director. In order to be readmitted to school, the absentee has to return with his parents. They meet with the inspector of schools or the teacher appointed by him before school starts in front of the school door. If the parents have contributed to the absence, the attendance officer sends the student into school, he speaks with the parents in private about the seriousness of being absent, and he advises them how to prevent recurrence.[102] If parents persist in permitting frequent absences, DeLaSalle permits expulsion from school. Of course, expulsion for absence comes after all other means are exhausted: deprivation of rewards; denial of monthly promotion; imposition of a penance; temporary suspension.

> Pupils will not be sent away from school unless it appears that both they and their parents do not trouble about it and do not profit by all that it has been possible to say to them on the subject.[103]

According to the school attendance policy stated in The Conduct there are three kinds of absence. Regular absence is an absence recognized in the record of reception as a condition for the student's acceptance. Regular absence always has to do with the need to work and with nothing else. Absence with permission is an absence permitted on rare occasion upon the parents' prior request (to make a parish or guild pilgrimage, to buy the child stockings or shoes, to mend his clothes). The inspector or the attendance officer "will always appear unaccommodating and will grant permission only with

great difficulty." The 1706 edition justifies the reluctant attitude "because such permission will cause a disturbance in school and because several others will also be absent."[104] DeLaSalle says that he would rather have a school of fifty students who are assiduous in attendance than a school of one hundred students who are frequently absent. Absence without permission is an absence without prior permission upon which the teacher attendance officer passes judgment when the child returns to school with his parents. The ordinary excuses given for absence without permission are parental need, illness, and truancy. DeLaSalle spells out realistic guidelines for accepting excuses as valid. Parental need has to be great and very rare to be accepted as excuse. If the child is seen outside the house or playing, then his illness excuse is not accepted. Parents are obliged to punish the truant at home before he will be accepted back to school. Five days' absence with permission or two days' absence without permission or six tardies keep a student from monthly promotion, even if he is capable. In the 1706 edition students absent without permission are required to sit at a bench for the negligent for twice the length of time of the absence. While the absentee occupies this bench, he is not allowed to participate in the lessons with the other students; he does his reading and recitation during breakfast and lunch to another student. A student who is tardy occupies the bench of the negligent for the rest of the morning or the afternoon, and a student visitor from his neighborhood is sent to his home after school to notify his

parents why he did not have his lessons in school that day.[105] The 1720 edition omits all mention of the bench of the negligent.

Student Participation

If one imagines the class of the seventeenth century as a little kingdom, then the teacher, incontestable sovereign, governs through student officers, his ministers. For example, Demia and DeBathencourt had student officers to keep order during prayers (prefects of good behavior); to introduce new students to the school regulations (master of novices); to attract new students to the school (enrôleurs); to bring their neighborhood comrades to school (dizainiers). In general the student officers functioned in three areas: material service, surveillance, and pedagogy. DeLaSalle says:

> There will be several officers in the school charged with various different functions which the teachers cannot do or ought not to do themselves.[106]

The 1706 edition of The Conduct describes the functions of fourteen officers. The 1720 edition describes only twelve officers. Since each officer has a back-up in case of absence or poor performance and since some offices require two or more officers, the total number of students involved in one class could number over thirty. The student offices are held in high esteem, and DeLaSalle makes use of this esteem to motivate students and to create school community. A student is appointed to a particular office in virtue of his personal achievement, character traits, educational needs or motivational considerations.

> The reciter of prayers ought to know all the prayers perfectly, to recite them distinctly, to be reserved and well behaved in order not to cause any distraction to the students.
>
> There are some children to whose conduct their parents pay little attention, sometimes none at all. . . . If they are of a bold and haughty spirit, they should be given some charge in the school, such as Inspector, if they are considered qualified, or Collector of Papers, and they should be promoted in something such as writing, arithmetic, or spelling, in order to inspire them with liking for school.[107]

The officers are changed at certain intervals to provide the opportunity for a larger number of students to assume responsibility. The beginning teacher has to learn how to appoint, organize, direct and reward the student officers in order to benefit from their assistance. The appointment of the student officers has to be approved by the director or inspector of schools, a sign that the student officers exercise a real responsibility. The student officers are listed below.

Reciters of the Prayers (récitateurs des prières): They rotate leading the morning and evening prayer. They are two students from the writing class appointed for one month.

Aspergil Bearer (porte-aspersoir): He carries the holy water container to church. This pupil should be very pious and well behaved; and he will not be replaced by another unless it is necessary.

Keeper of Rosaries (porte-chapelets): He distributes the rosaries in church to those who do not know how to read. He is responsible to collect and to count the rosaries so that none is missing. He shall have an assistant from each class. The keeper of

rosaries is responsible for distributing rosaries to those students who recite the rosary each day in school. He should be very sensible, well behaved, and trustworthy so that he can be relied upon not to mislay the rosaries. He is appointed for the year.

Bell Ringer (sonneur): He sounds the bell for lessons and for prayers. He shall sound the bell at the exact time he hears the church bells. He should be very assiduous in attending school, careful, vigilant, exact and very punctual. He is appointed for a year.

Distributor of Papers (distributeur des papiers): He distributes and collects the papers in the writing class accurately, promptly, silently. If numbers warrant them, there will be two distributors of papers. These officers will go to each writer to see what he has written. If they find that anyone has been remiss, they will inform the teacher of it.

Distributor of Books (distributeur des livres): He distributes the books provided to students too poor to buy their own in the reading lessons. The distributor of books collects the books at the end of the lesson and is responsible to see that none is missing, soiled, or damaged with folded corners. The distributor of books also stores the paper and books of the teacher and brings them to the teacher when he needs them.

Sweeper (balayeur): He sweeps the floor each day without fail and keeps the classroom neat and clean. Two sweepers of adjoining classrooms will help one another remove and replace the benches. The

sweeper should be active (not slow), known for neatness and cleanliness, sensible, and not given to quarreling and trifling. He shall be appointed for a month unless the time is extended by the teacher. At the end of the month he shall be given a picture card or a proverb card for recompense.

Doorkeeper (portier): He is a student in the classroom nearest the entrance door and is responsible for answering the door. Only one door is designated the entrance door to the school; all others are kept locked. The doorkeeper will let no one into the school until he notifies the teacher who is asking to enter. He should be the first to arrive at school, and he should be exact in making up any lessons missed while he is at the door. The doorkeeper should be changed frequently, and care should be taken that he does not waste his time and that he makes up lessons after school. The doorkeeper is also in charge of the bâton (stick) given to the student going to the lieux (toilet). (A looped thong at the end of the bâton through which the student put his wrist prevented the loss of the bâton.) Only one student at a time is permitted at the lieux. The doorkeeper should be diligent, regular in attendance, sensible, reserved, well behaved, silent, capable of making a good impression on visitors.

Keeper of the Key (clavier): He lives near the school and is in charge of opening and locking up. He shall open the door promptly at 7:30 a.m. and at 1:00 p.m. He shall lock up after the sweepers leave. The keeper of the key is responsible for the preservation of everything in the school and he shall see that nothing is taken away.

He shall be assiduous and never miss school. He shall be appointed for the year.

Minister of the Mass (ministre): He plays the role of the priest for those students learning how to serve Mass. This is done every Tuesday during breakfast. The minister shall be intelligent, posed, well behaved, and reserved so as to be able to ensure the good behavior of those learning the responses at Mass. He should be changed every month if there are other qualified students.

Collector of Alms (aumônier): He collects pieces of bread and fruit donated by the students at the end of breakfast and lunch and distributed by the teacher to poorer students. The collector shall go around with a basket silently and without disturbance. The teacher is to be very careful to appoint a student who is pious, considerate of the poor, and not given to overeating. The collector shall never to allowed to give any of the food to another or to keep it for himself. He shall be changed as often as the teacher judges.

First of the Bench (premier du banc): He shall be awarded this office for being the best, most assiduous, and well-behaved student of the bench. The first of the bench shall take the daily attendance of his bench and coach (entrainer) his bench partners for recitation in reading and catechism. If a first of the bench in the lowest class does not know how to read, the teacher shall teach him to take attendance by heart.

Visitor to the Sick (visiteur des malades): He visits any sick student in his neighborhood to console him and to report back to the

teacher his condition. If there is no one in the lower classes who can perform this function, then the teacher shall select a visitor from one of the upper classes. The 1706 edition prescribes that the student visitor speak politely and only to the parents in the name of the teacher. The visitor is warned against receiving any gifts from the sick boy or his parents. The visitor shall be given a recompense every month to encourage him to continue faithfully. The visitor shall be selected from the most affectionate and assiduous students. He should be intelligent, polite, and well behaved. He should not be given to lying or subject to bribery. The visitor who has great enthusiasm and affection for the school shall attract the wayward (libertins) to be more regular in attendance. He shall recruit idle children (vagabonds et inutiles) who do not go to school. The visitor is appointed for the year unless he does not perform well or unless there are other students who are more capable.

Inspector (inspecteur): He watches over the conduct of the students before school starts and in the teacher's absence. The student inspector shall remain seated in front of the class; he never shall speak to anyone; he shall never make any threats by any kind of sign to anyone out of order; he shall report faithfully to the teacher everything that happened in his absence. The inspector is appointed not only to watch all that takes place in the teacher's absence, but to be the model for the other students. The teacher will never punish those reported by the inspector until he has checked out the report with trustworthy students. The inspector should be punctual, among

the first to come to school, vigilant, honest, and impartial so that he would report his own brothers and his friends as well as others. He must never receive a gift from anyone. He is appointed for the year unless it is necessary to change him. There will be no inspector in a class when the teacher is present, except in the writing class during breakfast and lunch when the teacher will be occupied writing. At this time the student inspector will do what the teacher should do but only in respect to the recitation of prayers, for the teacher should in no way exempt himself from watching over the general order of the class during this time. The inspector also sees that penances are performed (for example, coming to school early).

Supervisors (surveillants): They are two students in each class who report to the teacher on the conduct of the inspector in the exercise of his office. The supervisors shall be appointed privately by the teacher and shall not be known by the inspector or the other students as officers. They shall be from among the most sensible, pious, and punctual students.[108]

Lasallian student officers primarily participate in material services and surveillance. DeLaSalle recognizes the psychological value to the student of involvement with service. Of course the student officers who conscientiously fulfill their duties of material service also facilitate the teacher's efforts to handle large classes. With regards to surveillance, "DeLaSalle was largely inspired by the model which had preceded him."[109] He applies and refines a method of student surveillance inaugurated by the Brothers of the Common Life in

the fifteenth century, adapted by the Jesuits to their colleges in the sixteenth century, and continued in the seventeenth century by DeBathencourt and Demia in the parish schools. The Jesuits had vigiles who reported students who spoke French; DeBathencourt had student observateurs; Demia had student intendants. The mute and immobile inspecteur of DeLaSalle is a modification of an accepted tradition of school discipline. Student surveillance is pyramidal and reciprocal.[110] It spreads out from the teacher over the class, through the school and into the neighborhoods. The seventeenth century disciplinary and surveillant system is multiple, automatic and anonymous.[111] DeLaSalle's system of counter-inspection as an attempt to control abuse of the student office is not approved by modern pedagogy. However, at the time the practice was accepted as fair and just by the parents and students. In this way justice is done to the satisfaction of all, and the students are involved in the government of the school.[112]

Unlike DeBathencourt and Demia, DeLaSalle does not involve the student officers directly in a teaching responsibility. DeLaSalle reserves teaching to the teacher. The use of student officers engaged directly in teaching comes from the practice described in the Règlements of Demia. On this point the Lancastrian method and the Lyonnaise method are aligned.[113] Demia seems to have had an instinct for the monitorial method, more so than DeLaSalle. Demia appealed to the good will of the best behaved students and created monitors who

seconded the masters with much more authority than anything DeLaSalle gives to his officers.

> Monitorial teaching was practiced [by Demia]. Each band was directed by a well behaved student from the superior band who guided his companions.[114]

Unlike the student ministers of Demia who actually teach reading and writing, the student officers of DeLaSalle are charged only with the external order of the school. They are not in the same position of teaching responsibility vis-a-vis the other students as are the ministers of Demia or as the monitors of Lancaster are later. Whereas the ministers and monitors are responsible for the teaching of their group, DeLaSalle's student officers are always in a controlled, supplemental position ancillary to that of the teacher.

> The study of the methods of student involvement in use prior to the monitorial method draws attention to the unequivocal radical difference between the Lasallian school and the Lancastrian school: the officers of the brothers and the mutual monitors do not have the same function in regard to the other students. The first are put in controlled and subaltern positions of discipline and adjuncts (les a-côtés materiels) of teaching. The second are in charge of a class (faire la classe) to teach their companions to read, to write, to calculate, and to assure learning.[115]

The Conduct does describe the instances in which DeLaSalle makes use of students in a quasi-pedagogical capacity.

> At promotion it is necessary to leave some in each lesson or order of the lesson who know it well enough to stimulate the others and serve as models; to train them to express themselves well, to pronounce distinctly the letters, syllables, and words, and to make the pauses well.
>
> . . .for the good of the class or the lesson in order that there be some who can support the others. They will do this in such a manner that these pupils will be content to remain in the grade or section where they are. They will persuade them by means of some reward, by assigning them some office, such, for instance, as first of the bench, and making them understand that it is better

> to be the first, or among the first, in a lower grade than the last in a more advanced one.
>
> For a new student in the Syllabaire français, the teacher will take care to assign to him, for as many days as he may need, a companion who, when the others are reading, will teach him by following together in the same book which both will hold one on one side and the other on the other.
>
> (The students sometimes gave spelling dictations.) The teacher or whoever is dictating will repeat the letter or the syllable that the pupil has mispronounced.
>
> In order to have a slow student retain the material, the teacher will have it repeated four or five times alternatively by the one who does not know it with a pupil who knows it well, so as to afford the slow student a greater facility for learning it.
>
> A new student in school should be placed near some pupil who acquits himself well of his duties, in order that he may learn by practice and example.
>
> (Before school starts.) The pupil who has been chosen to point out the contents of the charts will do so without correcting and without saying a single word.[116]

Unfortunately DeLaSalle's student officers have been mistaken for the nineteenth century Lancastrian student teaching monitors. One enthusiastic author overstates the comparison between Lancaster and DeLaSalle.

> Lancaster makes no reference to continental educational ideas as sources of his ideas, but his methods were firmly rooted in charity schooling tradition. Although Lancaster may not have been aware of the connection, Improvements In Education had much in common with The Conduct of Schools.[117]

It is profitable to look at the historical episode in which the two systems came into conflict due to their fundamentally different views of student participation in teaching.

Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) and Andrew Bell (1753-1832), simultaneously but independently, applied a monitorial teaching system

to charity schools in Britain whereby student monitors taught other students. The Lancaster-Bell monitorial system elevated to the level of a major pedagogical principle the practice of employing pupils as teaching assistants. Before school the teacher taught the student monitors who, in turn, taught groups of other students. By means of the student monitors one teacher could teach two to three hundred or more students. The economics of the system was tempting, and the system became very popular.[118]

In 1814 a committee of French legislators visited England to study the Lancastrian schools. The French officials praised the monitorial method.

> The great art which does the most with the least possible. . . . to instruct the largest number of children possible with the smallest number of teachers.[119]

To emphasize the student-teaching-student aspect of the monitorial method, the French renamed it the mutual method (la méthode mutuelle). The French government was seduced by the apparent simplicity and economy of the mutual method. Never had so much popular education been offered, in the government's eyes, at so low a price. A Cours Normal was opened in Paris to train teachers in the mutual method, and the government showered the training college with funds and privileges. After one year there were thirty-six graduates and two hundred candidates. The Society for Elementary Instruction, made up of notable personages in government and education, was formed to publish a monthly educational journal promoting the mutual method.

Serious attempts were made to adapt the mutual method to the French army, hospitals, and prisons.[120]

There ensued an eighteen-year (1815-1833) bitter conflict between the French government, which wanted to impose the mutual method upon the Christian Schools, and the French hierarchy and the Brothers of the Christian Schools, who resisted the method as opposed to the method of DeLaSalle. Emotions ran high on the issue in educational circles and in the public forum, and sides were drawn on political, religious, as well as pedagogical lines. The brothers objected that the mutual method, modeled on the machinery of the Industrial Revolution and the productivity of the factory, gave up what was most important in education, namely, direct, personal contact of the teacher with his students and, therefore, his influence. The brother teachers also foresaw the dangers of placing the heavy burden of instruction into the hands of children. A. Rendu, a renowned nineteenth century French educator and legislator, unsuccessfully attempted to establish in L'essai sur l'instruction publique the thesis that the mutual method perfected the simultaneous method, not in essentials but in details and form. He argued that, if he were alive, DeLaSalle would be the first to recognize the merits of the mutual method and to introduce it into the Christian Schools.[121]

The French government poured money into the mutual schools and by 1821 they numbered 1500. However, by 1827 the mutual schools were down to 258. The Cours Normal was closed due to lack of students discouraged at not being placed in teaching positions. The mutual

method was not equal in the long term to the sustained personal contact of the teacher in an organized classroom. However, as late at 1853 the public schools of Paris consisted of one large class taught through student monitors. In 1857 an experimental public school was organized on the LaSallian pattern of simultaneous instruction with classes no larger than one teacher could handle. It proved a success and the simultaneous system was gradually adopted in the other public schools.[122] Ironically, in the spirit of the primitive Conduct of 1706 which describes the role of the first of the bench as trainer and model (entraineur et modèle), the preface of the 1838 edition acknowledges the mutual method and adapts some of its advantages to the lower classes in a compromise simultaneous-mutual method.

> A mode in pedagogy is the manner in which the teacher exercises his action in the instruction of pupils. Hence we have the individual mode in which the teacher instructs pupils by giving them lessons individually on each subject; the simultaneous mode in which the teacher addresses the whole class in giving lessons; the mutual mode in which the teacher divides the class into groups and enlists the aid of advanced pupils (monitors) in giving lessons while he concerns himself with the supervision of the class in general; and the mutual-simultaneous mode which is followed in some large classes and in those having several sections. The latter consists in the teacher's calling upon monitors to hear the children repeat their lessons while he teaches sections in turn, using the simultaneous mode.[123]

School Calendar

DeLaSalle standardizes school holidays as part of his strategy to stabilize the school and the student. The school calendar fixes and guarantees the school year so parents, students and teachers know when attendance is required. All the Christian Schools follow the

same dates in the eleven-month school year. DeLaSalle opened school on October 1, the feast of St. Remigius, instead of the more popular opening date inaugurated by the Jesuits, October 18, the feast of St. Luke. The ordinary weekly holiday is Thursday. If a holy day of obligation falls during the week, then a half holiday is given on another predetermined day. If there are two holy days of obligation during the week, then there is no half holiday. Extraordinary holidays are given only for evident and indispensable necessity (a fair, the death of a teacher, an extraordinary town ceremony, the patron day of the parish school), and always instead of the ordinary Thursday holiday. There are no holidays on carnival days, rogation days, and the patron days of trade unions because the typical celebration of these days is inappropriate for children.[124] Demia and DeBathencourt replaced carnival with Christian processions or disputation contests. DeLaSalle requires that the students come to school on carnival days even if the parents want them to participate in the celebration. It is a rare thing for DeLaSalle to have the children go against the wishes of their parents.[125] One month's summer vacation is given during September. On the last day of school teachers spend the afternoon counseling students about the dangers of misusing vacation time: not to forget to say their prayers and to receive the sacraments; not to become negligent in their reading and writing so that they will not be put back in the order of the lesson; not to associate with bad companions; not to plunder gardens or vineyards; not to swim in the nude; not to play cards or dice for money.[126] The

last paragraph of this short chapter stresses the teacher's obligation of making the daily announcements clear and understandable to all the children.

> Each teacher will announce in his own classroom, at the end of the school day, immediately after evening prayer, the holidays and any other special events that occur during the week. He will take care to state these things in a few words, to forget nothing, and to express them in such a manner that they can be understood by all the pupils.[127]

Conclusion

DeLaSalle seeks to establish school as a human community attractive to the children of the poor. He challenges the teacher to create a school community based on sound psychology and pedagogy. To this end he educates teachers in principles and practices that can be labeled integral, practical, individual, differential, participatory, stable, and affective. The teacher is responsible for educating the whole child in the academic domain as much as in religion, in character formation as much as in the professional and social preparation for life. In his concern for the problem child, the teacher uses preventive attention to the child's weaknesses. Psychological awareness and background information obtained from school records guide the teacher in dealing with individual student needs. In spite of the large number of students in the class DeLaSalle expects the teacher to keep due regard to student differences. He emphasizes his regard for differential pedagogy in the chapter on correction. DeLaSalle wants school to have an atmosphere of silence, serenity and stability. He

establishes an annual school calendar, and he places the responsibility for student attendance upon the teacher. The teacher stimulates student interest and responsibility by involvement in school service. Of course the primary reason for the child's joy in attending school comes from the friendly external attraction of the teacher.

CONCLUSION

The following statements summarizing DeLaSalle's teacher education efforts and The Conduct as a guide to teacher education are offered as defensible in light of the development of this dissertation. (1) DeLaSalle was a seventeenth century educational reformer who improved primary schools for the poor by improving primary teacher education. (2) DeLaSalle was a part of a primary teacher education reform movement inspired by the Council of Trent. (3) The point of departure of DeLaSalle's reform of teacher education was the need of the neglected children of the poor. (4) DeLaSalle's grand design for the reform of teacher education included teachers for city schools and for country schools. (5) The history of DeLaSalle's efforts in teacher education is contained in the history of the six centers he set up for educating city schoolteachers and the four centers for educating country schoolteachers. (6) The Conduct, written in collaboration with experienced primary schoolteachers, is the manual of DeLaSalle's teacher education program in three parts: curriculum and classroom management, methodology and school community, administration and supervision of teacher education. (7) DeLaSalle's teacher education program is administered by a formation team: formateur of new teachers, inspector of schools, and director of novices. (8) The goal of teacher education described in The Conduct is a

pedagogically skilled and virtuous teacher. In this respect the goal is incomplete and needs to be complemented by The Meditations in which DeLaSalle challenges the teacher to a fraternal conversion and to touch and to win the hearts of children. (9) Orthopedagogy (corrective education) based upon psychological understanding of children of the poor is an important phase of Lasallian teacher education. (10) The principles of Lasallian teacher education may be summarized as the following: integration, specialization, association, profession, mission, conversion, and supervision. (11) The principles of instruction presented in The Conduct as a practical guide to teaching may be summarized as the following: preparation, organization, vernacular, apprenticeship, questioning, utility, socialization, and religion. (12) The principles of education presented in The Conduct as a practical guide to building school community may be summarized as the following: integration, application, individuation, differentiation, motivation, participation, and affection.

DeLaSalle was not a creator. He did not operate in a vacuum. He was informed about the educational work of Peter Fourier and of the nun teachers of the Ursuline, Visitation, and Notre Dame teaching congregations. He had close ties with the priest teacher programs of the seminaries of St. Sulpice and St. Nicholas du Chardonnet in Paris. He patterned his early teacher education efforts on The Parish School, a manual of teacher education by the priest teacher, DeBathencourt. DeLaSalle was aware of Demia's educational manifesto, Remonstrances, and his seminarian teacher reform in the diocese of Lyon. He was a

personal friend of Roland and Barré, founders of congregations of sister teachers in Reims and Rouen. In partnership with Nyel, enthusiastic promoter and organizer of charity schools, DeLaSalle assumed the responsibility for the education of the teachers. His efforts at primary teacher education culminated a century of educational reform in France inspired by the Council of Trent.

DeLaSalle was an educational reformer. The reform of primary education through better teacher education was his point of departure for improving the plight of the neglected children of workers and the poor. He educated teachers to bring dignity and opportunity to children of the poor, especially problem children. He continually refined his teacher education efforts, first in his own home, then in the community houses of brother teachers, and finally in novitiates and seminaries set up for teacher candidates. DeLaSalle spent forty years improving primary schools for the poor by improving primary teacher education.

The grand design of DeLaSalle's educational reform calls for the education of teachers for both the city and the countryside. The city schoolteachers, called brothers, live in community and teach in association. They form a secular congregation known as the Brothers of the Christian Schools. DeLaSalle personally works at the initial education of brother teacher candidates. Later he assigns a <u>formateur</u> to work with the practice teachers. The brother teachers receive their teacher education by means of spiritual and pedagogical courses alternating with practice teaching and living in a school community.

The length of the initial training period is gradually extended from weeks to months to a year to several years. A major part of the initial teacher education program deals with teacher motivation. The ideal size of the staff of the city school community is five brothers with four in the school and one in the house who takes care of the material needs and substitutes as teacher in the school when needed. Beginning teachers receive supervision and support from the inspector of schools and the experienced teachers with whom they live. DeLaSalle also established a special educational program for teenagers who wished to become teachers but who were too young to teach. When DeLaSalle died there were over one hundred professionally educated brother teachers conducting schools in over twenty cities in eastern France.

The first community of brother teachers on rue Neuve shared the property facilities with a seminary for country schoolteacher candidates. The country schoolteachers were prepared to teach alone in one room rural parish schools and to act as auxiliaries to the parish priest. Their education is said to have lasted several years. It was similar to the education of the city schoolteachers: community living during the time of their education, spiritual and pedagogical courses, supervised practice teaching, and training for liturgical services. DeLaSalle's grand design calls for an association with priests with an educational background similar to that of the brother teachers who are to share in the seminary's external administration and liturgical program. The association never materialized. For

thirty years DeLaSalle's efforts at the education of city schoolteachers and of country schoolteachers paralleled each other. Unfortunately, none of the three country schoolteacher seminaries lasted more than seven years, and DeLaSalle finally abandoned the project. However, DeLaSalle does retain in The Rule of the brother teachers the regulation to receive into their schools practice teachers who wish to learn their teaching methods.

The Conduct is the manual of DeLaSalle's teacher education program which prescribes its curriculum, methodology and administration. The manual is the result of twenty-five years of teacher collaboration. No doubt The Conduct originated from the notes taken at the frequent conferences held by DeLaSalle and the brother teachers. A beginning teacher made his own copy as part of his teacher education program, and he read and re-read it as his professional vademecum. Teacher education is administered and supervised by a teacher formation team: a formateur of new teachers, an inspector of schools, and a director of novices. The formateur helps the beginning teacher correct the defects that impede effective teaching and acquire the qualities of a good teacher. Self control is considered most important in a teacher. The description of the role of the formateur is preceded by a list of the twelve virtues of the good teacher. The formateur's guidance and supervision takes place in a close working relationship with the practice teacher in the classroom. The teacher candidate learns to teach, in the manner of an apprenticeship, by teaching. The inspector of schools takes over

teacher education when the beginning teacher is assigned to his own class. The inspector of schools is responsible for supervising the beginning teacher in matters of student placement and promotion, discipline, record keeping, and dealings with the public. The role of the director of novices is not described in The Conduct. The first printed edition does not include the section on the formateur and the inspector of schools because it was thought to have too limited an interest. In general the teacher education team sees to it that the beginning teacher follows The Conduct. The goal of the teacher education team's efforts is a virtuous, pedagogically skilled teacher. In this regard The Conduct must be complemented by The Meditations which calls for a teacher-student relationship in which the teacher, as older brother and guardian, touches and wins the heart of the child. DeLaSalle presents the teacher with an integral spirituality which makes no distinction between professional performance and personal sanctification. DeLaSalle's teacher education is characterized by integration, asssociation, profession, mission, conversion, specialization and supervision.

The Conduct begins with a description of the daily schedule of the school and not with educational theory. Special methods for teaching the curriculum are described in the context of the school day, the total school program, and classroom management. The theoretical foundation of DeLaSalle's teacher education program would be described today as pragmatic and utilitarian. Reading is in the vernacular and the curriculum is taught for practical living. Claude

Fleury, historiographer and contemporary of DeLaSalle, developed an educational theory based on utility and choice, which could qualify as the curriculum theory of DeLaSalle's teacher education. In the primary phase of the seventeenth century Quarrel DeLaSalle was an educational realist who positioned his teachers on the side of the Moderns. Cartesian classroom organization and incremental learning enable the teacher to take care of individual student needs. The short treatise on questioning is concrete evidence of DeLaSalle's concern for the slow student. The atmosphere of the classroom is prayerful and respectful. Catechism study is geared to practical Christian living. In the spirit of the times, politeness is an integral part of the school program. As a practical pedagogical guide to instruction The Conduct stresses organization, lesson preparation, apprenticeship learning, the art of questioning, practical orientation to subject matter presentation, and social and moral instruction.

Nineteenth century educationists made too much of the simultaneous method and lost sight of DeLaSalle's concern for the individual and his love and understanding of the problem children of the poor. In The Conduct DeLaSalle describes the means of creating school as a human community attractive and suitable for the education of problem children. Classroom discipline depends upon the teacher's vigilance and attention to detail. At stake is the usefulness of the school to the children of the poor. Silence and the use of signals are as much of benefit to the health of the teacher as to learning by the student. Updated cumulative student records provide background

information helpful to understanding each child. DeLaSalle moderates the current practices of corporal punishment and substitutes more humane methods of correction. He educates teachers to understand the problem children of the poor and to prefer them in their classes. He describes in detail the character, intelligence and outward behavior of problem children; the causes of their misbehavior; and a program of orthopedagogy based on vigilant care, involvement, motivation, and love. Students are encouraged to participate in the operation of the school by assuming responsibility for various non-teaching functions which the teacher can not or ought not to do. The principles of education prescribed by DeLaSalle to create a caring school community include vigilant teacher awareness of the difficulties facing problem children, integral knowledge of the whole child, practical approach to learning, awareness of psychological differences and individual needs, creative motivation by means of participation and emulation, affective teacher-student relationship, and critical self evaluation of teacher performance. In summary, the teacher is to be gentle as a mother, firm as a father, and understanding as an older brother.

Philosophers tell us that endings are really beginnings. This is true of the conclusion of this dissertation. The reading and research required for this dissertation, uncovered several topics of interest regarding DeLaSalle and teacher education which had to be put aside for further study. Some of these topics include: the two groups of brother teachers set up by the Jansenists in opposition to the Brothers of the Christian Schools: the Frères Tabourin in the St.

Antoine section of Paris who continued to teach until the Revolution, and the short lived Frères Tambonneau in Boulogne, who were "elegantly dressed and wearing blond wigs"; the vaguely defined and short-lived association of DeLaSalle with Poullart Des Places and the Fathers of the Holy Spirit "who had the same background in education as the brothers"; the expansion of the primary curriculum into the upper primary boarding schools; the French Protestant academies and the work of the brother teachers among the "newly converted" Huguenots; the school textbooks written and published by the Brothers of the Christian Schools since the time of DeLaSalle; translation of current French Lasallian studies; an evaluation of the teacher education program of The Conduct as applicable today; a phenomenological analysis of the relation of the student and the teacher as older brother.

CHAPTER NOTES

Notes to Introduction

1. Auguste, Cahiers lasalliens 10 (Rome: Maison générale, 1979): 117-118.

2. W. H. Lewis in The Splendid Century mistakenly identifies the Brothers of the Christian Schools founded by DeLaSalle as the Salesians. p. 169.

3. Auguste, Cahiers lasalliens 10:118.

4. This conclusion was reached by means of an informal survey of twenty teachers residing at the Christian Brothers Center at Romeoville, Illinois. Each teacher was asked to rank the four words in order of his preference.

Notes to Chapter I

1. Edward Fitzpatrick, LaSalle, Patron of All Teachers (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1951), p. 40. Fitzpatrick wisely warns, "One must look at DeLaSalle's contribution to education in light of his time and customs, if one is to learn some significant lessons from the history of education. If one studies DeLaSalle solely in light of contemporary conditions, then one will neglect the central religious aim and atmosphere and the solution to the problem of how to supply trained teachers for free education to the poor by means of a religious community."

2. Gabriel Compayré, The History of Pedagogy (Boston: D. C.Heath, 1889), p. 254. In describing the educational power struggle between the écolâtre and the pastors Compayré says: "Such dissensions came still further to defeat the good intentions of individuals, and to weaken the feeble movement that was exerted in favor of popular education." This dissertation is about the culmination of this "feeble movement."

3. Michel Sauvage, Catéchèse et laicat (Paris: Ligel, 1962), pp. 359-469. Our view is that of Sauvage, for whom the main catechetical concern of the movement of Catholic reform required a necessary place (school) and an essential medium (teacher).

4. Jean DeViguerie, L'institution des enfants: l'éducation en France XVI^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècle (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1978), p. 9.

5. Ibid.

6. John O'Malley, "The Jesuits, St.Ignatius, and the Counter Reformation. Some Recent Studies and Their Implications for Today," Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits 14 (Jan. 1982): 10.

7. Armand Ravelet, Blessed J. B. DeLaSalle (Paris: Procure General, 1888), p. 34.

8. William Battersby, DeLaSalle: Pioneer of Modern Education (London: Longmans, 1949), p. 1.

9. DeViguerie, p. 42.

10. Ibid., p. 41.

11. Bonaventure Minor, "LaSalle and the Social Order of Louis XIV," Power and Authority (Lockport, Illinois: Christian Brothers National Office, 1976), p. 41.

12. The idea of founding establishments in which primary school teaching personnel would be recruited and educated was conceived, for the first time, when it was dreamed to expand primary instruction and to make it accessible to all. "It is to the National Convention that France owes the merit of having conceived this generous thought." F. Buisson, Dictionnaire de pédagogie, P.I, T.II, p. 2,038.

13. Marcel Blanc, Essai sur l'enseignement primaire avant 1789 (Paris: Forcalquier, 1954), p. 113. "They declare very loudly that until the end of the last century there were not in France any teachers or any schools, and they try to persuade us that it is the Revolution which has invented chez nous primary instruction. . . . They persuade the people that the ancien régime did nothing for the intellectual development of the laboring class; that there was a coalition between church and state before the Revolution to keep our fathers in ignorance." Ernest Allain, L'instruction primaire en France avant la révolution (Paris, 1881), pp. II, X.

14. George Rigault, Histoire générale de l'institut des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes, 9 vols. (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1949), 1:18. Hereafter cited as Histoire I.

15. Ravelet, p. 26.

16. R. Chartier, M. Compere, D. Julia, L'éducation en France du XVI^{e} au XVIII^{e} siècle (Paris: Sedes, 1976), p. 49.

17. Yves Poutet, "An Educator and a Saint at Grips With the Society of His time," mimeographed (Rome, 1980), p. 17. In general there was no lack of primary schools when DeLaSalle came on the educational scene. As a matter of fact, the multitude of schools was the preparation for the mission of DeLaSalle in the formation of teachers.

18. Allain, p. 228.

19. Ibid., pp. 55-57.

20. Ibid., p. 57. Ravelet, pp. 42ff.

21. Ravelet, p. 66. Blanc says that "In certain regions even, the schools were as numerous as today." Blanc presents evidence of there being at least one school in nearly every village. Essai sur l'enseignement primaire avant 1789, avant propos.

22. "But the role of the political body is not the same as that of the church. The church furnishes the educators and forms them. The church teaches and watches over the quality of the teaching. To the political body lies the policing, the financing, the maintenance of the schools." DeViguerie, p. 61.

23. Yves Poutet, Le XVII^{e} siècle et les origines lasalliennes 2 vols. (Rennes: 1970), p. 55. Hereafter cited as Les origines.

24. Allain, p. 220.

25. DeViguerie, p. 61.

26. Chartier, p. 52.

27. Blanc, p. 109.

28. Allain, p. 127.

29. Blanc, p. 69.

30. Fitzpatrick, p. 208. Brother Azarias must have been referring to the quality of teachers and teaching when he says, "The primary schools were in a wretched condition when DeLaSalle came upon the scene and organized his Brotherhood." Educational Essays (Chicago: McBride, 1896), p. 275.

31. Richard Arnandez, "Primary Education in St.LaSalle's Day," LaSallian Digest 3 (Winter 1960): 13.

32. Chartier, p. 67.

33. DeViguerie, p. 101.

34. Ibid., chapter IV.

35. Edward Davis, "An Historical Study of the Use of the Vernacular as an Instrument of Instruction in the Education of Boys in Seventeenth Century France" Master's thesis, (Loyola University, Baltimore, 1955), p. 3.

36. Ibid., p. 2.

37. Ibid., p. 4. Davis's thesis is that age nine as an upper age limit was a main determinant distinguishing primary schooling.

38. DeViguerie, p. 92. Poutet, An Educator and a Saint at Grips With the Society of His Time, p. 21.

39. Ibid., p. 92.

40. Ibid., p. 77.

41. Allain, pp. 197, 200, 242, 243.

42. Chartier, p. 42.

43. Poutet, Les origines, 1:141. "The major obstacle to scholarization then is the lack of income that the immobilization of the child working represents. The school of the ancien régime, therefore, is a temporary school, which has to be arranged according to the demands of the domestic economy." Chartier, p. 42.

44. Ibid., p. 141.

45. Chartier, p. 31.

46. Ibid., p. 101.

47. Blanc describes the typical signs that indicated a school: a painting of goose feathers in a hat: one feather indicated writing taught; two feathers indicated writing and calculating taught; three feathers indicated Latin taught. Essai, p. 43.

48. David Hamilton, "Adam Smith and the Moral Economy of the Classroom System," Journal of Curriculum Studies 12 (1982): 281-298.

49. Luke Salm, Beginnings (Winona, Minn.: St.Mary's College Press, 1980), p. 65.

50. Arnandez, p. 20. The 1706 edition of The Conduct quotes a pertinent remark by DeLaSalle about having the pastor threaten to cut off the dole those parents whose children miss school frequently. Cahiers lasalliens 24 (Rome: Maison Générale, 1965): 38.

51. Arnandez, p. 17.

52. Ibid., p. 76. Arnandez cites the historical incident in 1570 of a forgery of the King's signature as the origin of the incorporation of the writing masters with exclusive rights to verify signatures and public documents.

53. "Its windows opened out on to the spectacle of the street. A sign announced to the passers-by: beautiful penmanship is taught by Monsieur ___. In the interior, seated on benches before tables or standing before writing models, some adults are doing writing exercises: a sword carelessly placed on the bench by one of the students leaves one to understand that noble clientele do not disdain coming to the school of the writing master." Chartier, p. 54.

54. Ibid., p. 56

55. Arnandez, p. 77.

56. Ibid., p. 80.

57. Battersby, p. 3.

58. Arnandez, p. 15.

59. Ibid., p. 24.

60. Ibid., p. 15.

61. O'Malley, p. 13. George Rigault describes the charity schools as being born from the insufficiencies of the little schools. Rigault also describes the parish schools as gradually escaping the jurisdiction of the superintendent of schools. However, the problem of the education of teachers remained to be solved. Saint Jean Baptiste DeLaSalle et son oeuvre (Paris: Procure Générale, 1950), pp. 7-11. Hereafter referred to as Son oeuvre.

62. The complete title of the treatise is: A Treatise on the History of the Episcopal and Ecclesiastical schools and the rights of the ecolatres of the cathedral churches of France, and particularly of the ecolatre of the church of Paris, over the schools which have been entrusted to them, against the enterprises of those who upset the ancient and canonical order which ought to be maintained for the good education and instruction of the young, by Claude Joly, canon of the metropolitan church of Paris, superintendent, judge, and director of the grammar schools and of the little schools of the city, suburbs, and surroundings of Paris.

63. Compayré, p. 256.

64. Maurice Auguste, "L'idée d'un séminaire et d'un institut de maitres d'école à Paris in 1685," Les Bulletins des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes 9 (July 1959): 135. Hereafter referred to as Les Bulletins. The accord was reaffirmed in 1699.

65. Battersby, p. 7.

66. Ibid., p. 49.

67. Gabriel Compayré, Charles Demia et les origins l'enseignement primaire (Paris: Delaplane, 1905), p. 47. Compayre also quotes from the minutes of the School Board the invitation to teachers who do not write well to take lessons from the other teachers of the city. He also relates how most teachers were reduced to holding another job in order to live.

68. Compayré, Demia, p. 47.

69. Chartier, p. 31. Ravelet describes a fiddler teacher who leaves class to play for weddings. Ravelet, p. 71.

70. Ravelet, p. 70.

71. Arnandez, p. 13.

72. Charles Gatt, "At The Time of DeLaSalle," Monthly Newsletter 40 (District of London: Jan. 1983): 91. Gatt makes some interesting comments on the state of charity school teachers in England in the seventeenth century that are worthwhile noting here: "The vast increase in the number of charity schools at the end of the 17th century brought with it one immense benefit. The part-time schoolmaster gave way to the full-time. No longer was it the baker or the cordwainer or the curate who ran the school in his spare time, but a man vetted by a governing body looking for moral and intellectual qualities and the ability to cope with a classroom of children. An Account of the Charity Schools printed in 1704 listed a number of qualities expected of schoolmasters. He should be (1) A member of the Church of England, of a sober life and conversation and not under the age of 25 years. (2) One that frequents Holy Communion. (3) One that hath a Good Government of himself and his Passions. (4) One of meek Temper and humble Behavior. (5) One of Good Genius for teaching. (6) One who can write a good Hand, and who understands the grounds of Arithmetic. The Christian Schoolmaster, added, almost echoing DeLaSalle, the virtues peculiarly suitable to the office: patience, humility, sagacity and judgment, justice and equity, meekness and forebearance, candour and sweetness of disposition . . . The minute books of the meetings held by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) are preserved in the presbytery of Holy Trinity Church, Marylebone. Those for the meetings of October 7, 14, and 21 in 1708 show how alive the Society was to the need for trained teachers. They discussed the idea of a seminary for training.

However, they were deterred by the expense. A sermon by Dr. Waterhead, 1708, and an 'address to persons of Quality and State' by R.Nelson, 1715, are interesting documents on teacher education.

73. Canon Blain, The Life of John Baptist DeLaSalle, Founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools Vol.1 (Rouen, 1733), translated by R. Arnandez, (Romeoville, Illinois: Lasallian Publications, 1982), p. 50.

74. Arnandez, p. 13.

75. Compayré quotes Demia as saying: "Even as they have regulated the clergy in establishing seminaries, so for the formation of school teachers, it is necessary to establish a sort of preparatory novitiate: a so holy employment needing necessarily as much an apprenticeship as the other arts." Compayré, Charles Demia, p. 46. Jean Pungier says that DeLaSalle agrees with this analysis of Demia: "In order to remedy the moral and spiritual abandonment of children; in order to respond to the social and economic necessities of the city; in order to sustain and to render stable schools truly christian, it is necessary to assure the formation of teachers professionally and spiritually." Comment est née La Conduite? (Rome: Maison Généralice, 1980), p. 52. In this dissertation Demia is spelled without the accent aigu.

76. Ibid., p. 46.

77. Compayré, Charles Demia, p. 50.

78. Compayré, History of Pedagogy, p. 255.

79. Compayré, Charles Demia, p. 61.

80. Pungier, p. 51.

81. M. Faillon, Vie de M. Olier 3 vols. (Paris, 1873), 1:298. Three religious orders of men (Jesuits, Oratorians, Doctrinaires) met the double challenge of the Council of Trent: reform of clergy and reform of catechism. The three orders also reformed secondary education. The Jesuits established their colleges independent of the control of the universities and based on their own program of classical studies, the Ratio Studiorum. The Oratorians abandoned their initial mission to educate priests and opened colleges offering a modified 'modern' program in the vernacular. The Doctrinaires, founded by Cesar de Bus for the primary instruction of the poor, moved up to the secondary level of instruction. The colleges of the Jesuits and the Oratorians were known in the seventeenth century for their academic and disciplinary excellence. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 12.

82. "The influence of the founders of the seminaries [St. Sulpice and St. Nicholas du Chardonnet] was immense. They inspired

with their sentiments regarding primary education numerous seminarians who later, as priests, were involved in apostolic educational functions or who were raised to the episcopacy and worked at the important work of popular education." Allain, p. 245. See also Poutet, Les origines 2:333-339.

83. Faillon, pp. 240-251.

84. Battersby, Pioneer, pp. 22-23. Battersby quotes from the Constitutions by M.Olier.

85. Ibid., p. 385. This house of instruction lasted until the Revolution.

86. Ibid., p. 352.

87. Faillon, p. 506.

88. Poutet, Les origines 1:354. In the translation of this passage third person singular pronouns have been changed to third person plural.

89. Ibid., p. 195. For a discussion of the spirituality that guided the educational reform of the seventeenth century see Leo Kirby, "The French School: Berullian Spirituality," Lasallian Digest 9 (Summer 1967): 138-139. See also Brother Denis, The Role of Jesus in the Teacher Training Program of Saint John Baptist DeLaSalle (New York: Procure, 1944).

90. This solution is in contrast to DeLaSalle's solution: to separate the roles of priest and teacher and to attribute the task of teaching to laymen sharing a community life. Chartier, p. 67.

91. Ibid., p. 5. Chartier says that this quote would apply to the majority of dioceses in France in the seventeenth century.

92. Poutet, Les origines 1:351.

93. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 11.

94. "I believe that if St.Paul and St.Denis were to come back to France now, they would undertake the work of schoolmasters in preference to any other." "For fifty-seven years, I have been familiar with the work of a field laborer; and during all that time I have seen no work more futile than that of sowing in ground that has not been previously well manured and plowed. It is by means of Christian schools that hearts are prepared to receive the word of God from preachers." Ravelet, pp. 92-93:

95. DeViguerie, p. 59. This clerical conception of the Christian school constituted one of the obstacles that DeLaSalle had to overcome when he substituted reading French for reading Latin.

96. Until 1970 the identity of this priest was unknown. Yves Poutet in "L'auteur de L'école paroissiale et quelques usages de son temps" established the identity as Jacques de Bathencourt. Until this discovery DeBathencourt's only identity was the initialed signature in the 1685 edition of The Parish School: M.I.D.B.

97. The 1654 edition is titled: The Parish School, or the manner of instructing children in the little schools, by a priest of a parish in Paris. The 1685 edition, abridged, is titled: The method of instruction for the parish school, drawn up for the little schools, dedicated to the superintendant of schools of Paris by M.I.D.B. priest.

98. Rigault, Histoire, 1:46.

99. Ibid., p. 46. Compayre was critical of the then anonymous author of The Parish School "for not having a high opinion of the office of the teacher which he regards as an employment without lustre, without pleasure, and without interest." History, p. 277.

100. G. Bernoville, Un précurseur de saint Jean Baptiste DeLaSalle: Nicholas Roland (Paris, 1950), p. 103. "DeLaSalle had read very attentively the pages of The Parish School. . . . We are able to affirm that they are the point of departure of his pedagogical labor. Having practiced them at the beginning of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, having compared them to the rules and usuages of Saint Peter Fourier, Charles Demia, Pere Barré and Nicholas Roland, he had, so to speak, rethought and recomposed them. And he wrote his own teacher manual, The Conduct of Schools." Frere Alphonse, Le maitre chrétien selon Saint Jean Baptiste DeLaSalle (Paris: Ligel, 1950), p. 38. See also Davis who says that DeLaSalle used The Parish School as a basis for his own methods because "LaSalle had no specific training or knowledge of primary education, and apparently no very definite interest in it before 1679." Davis, p. 74.

101. Anselme D'Haese, "L'Ecole Paroissiale, Une aieule de La Conduite des Ecoles Chrétiennes," Les Bulletins 27 (January 1939): 30. See also Rigault, Histoire 1:45-59. A xerox copy of L'école paroissiale 1685 edition, is available at Christian Brothers National Office, Romeoville, Illinois.

102. Ibid., p. 30.

103. Pungier, p. 38. "In The Parish School one sees that the seventeenth century teacher, at least the ideal teacher, did not make use of physical chastisement or pain inflicted 'a la bete' except for moral reform and liberation of the spirit." Rigault, Histoire 1:49.

Michel Foucault gives a vivid description and analysis of the fascination with cruelty characteristic of this period of time. Discipline and Punish (New York: Pantheon, 1975). Foucault analyses DeLaSalle's role in the movement of society in penal law from physical punishment to psychological control.

104. Rigault, Histoire, 1:48.

105. D'Haese, p. 45.

106. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 14.

107. Rigault, Histoire, 1:46.

108. Azarias, p. 230. The title of the manuscript is Avis touchant les petites écoles (Bibl.Nat. pz320). The author advocates public examinations as a means of exciting competition. He considers such examinations a powerful correction upon both pupil and teacher.

109. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 14.

110. In 1900 canon law was changed to include the uncloistered secular congregations as canonically religious on condition that these congregations accept conditions called normées. Compliance with the normées in effect made all congregations religious and uniform.

111. B. Maximin, Les écoles normales de St. J. B. DeLaSalle (Bruxelles: Procure, 1922), p. 180.

112. DeViguerie, p. 62. "At this time (1597) special schools for girls were nearly completely lacking. . . . There were some communities of religious women who received boarding students into the cloister; but this necessity of boarding deprived the poor girls from getting a Christian education." J. Renault, Les idées pédagogiques de Saint Pierre Fourier (Paris: Lethielleux, 1919), p. 35. See also Blanc, p.86.

113. Renault, p. 40.

114. Pungier, p. 31.

115. Ibid., p. 31.

116. Renault, p. 40.

117. Poutet, Les origines vol. 1.

118. L. Pingaud, Saint Pierre Fourier (Paris: Lecoffre, 1891), p. 70. Taken from E.J. Guyatt, The training of lay primary teachers in France from the beginning of the 17th century to 1815 (London: Education Libraries, 1960), p. 16.

119. H. Cherot, Saint Pierre Fourier de Mattaincourt (Paris: Desclee, 1901), p. 56. Taken from Guyatt, p. 16.

120. Pungier, p. 32.

121. Renault, p. 52.

122. Ibid., p. 54.

123. Pungier, pp. 32-33.

124. Renault, p. 55. See also Pungier, p. 36.

125. Renault, p. 50.

126. Pungier, p. 33. See pages 34-36 for descriptions of other educational similarities between Fourier and DeLaSalle.

127. Ibid., p. 36.

128. Renault, p. 32.

129. Poutet, Les origines 1:94. At the end of the sixteenth century the Congregation for Religious in Rome "went so far even to declare teaching incompatible with the cloister and even with the celibate religious." "Pope Urban VIII was against these innovations being tried in the religious convents of women. He suppressed the uncloistered congregation founded in 1609 in Belgium called the Jesuitesses. When he was requested for approval of the Congregation of Notre Dame, his first words were: Are they Jesuitesses? We have no wish for them at Rome." Renault, pp. 46-47.

130. Ibid., p. 94. The people of Reims could not understand these new religious seen on the streets. They were already concerned about a lax situation of parlor visiting and gossiping that was a growing practice in the cloistered convents. People also feared that they would end up supporting these new religious. These fears explain the constant opposition of the city councils to the opening of new religious convents and to sponsoring their apostolates.

131. Allain, p. 276. See also Ravelet, pp. 76, 82.

132. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 13.

133. Ravelet, p. 79.

134. Fitzpatrick, p. 208. "These secular communities of women created a particular religious ambiance that DeLaSalle became accustomed to." Poutet, Les origines 1:95.

135. Many of the bibliographical references to the literature were obtained from Guyatt.

136. Arnandez, p. 19. The Sisters of Charity undertook teaching in a parish charity school only after concluding a written contract covering the conditions of their employment, and their community always remained under the control of their own superior. DeLaSalle will model his teaching congregation on such a pattern of organization and will put his teachers on a terrain canonically not defined.

137. Ravelet, p. 78.

138. L. Audiat, L'instruction primaire gratuite et obligatoire avant 1789 (Paris: Picard, 1896), p. 151. Taken from Guyatt, p. 25.

139. Ibid., p. 78.

140. E. Faillon, Vie de M. DeLantages, prêtre de Saint Sulpice (Paris: LeClere, 1830), p. 262. Taken from Guyatt, p.25.

141. Ravelet, p. 76.

142. C. Urseau, L'instruction primaire avant 1789 dans les paroisses du diocese actuel d'Angers (Angers: Briand, 1890), p. 144. Taken from Guyatt, p. 51.

143. Blanc, p. 87.

144. C. Goujet, La vie de M. Felix Vialart (Utrecht: Compagnie, 1738), p. 258. Taken from Guyatt, p. 27.

145. A. Babeau, La ville sous l'ancien régime (Paris: Didier, 1880), p. 495. Taken from Guyatt, p. 26.

146. Poutet, Les origines 1:468. "Des Noailles, who succeeded Vialart as bishop of Chalons and who later became the archbishop of Paris, established in his own village of Sarry a kind of normal school for girls. This same Des Noailles as the archbishop of Paris did not protect the seminary for the formation of country school teachers, started in Paris by DeLaSalle, when it was under attack by the writing masters." p. 479.

147. Ibid, p. 470.

148. Poutet, Les origines 1:533. Like Barré, DeLaSalle worked independently of the territorial limits of a determined diocese. p. 525.

149. Ibid., p. 533.

150. Charles Cordonnier, Le R.P. Nicolas Barré (Paris: Librairie St.Paul, 1938), p. 169.

151. Ibid., p. 205.

152. Ibid., p. 206.

153. Bernoville, p. 105.

154. Rigault, Histoire 1:101. Speaking of the secular congregations of teaching sisters and particularly of Barré, Rigault says that the hierarchical organization, the autonomy of the teaching society, joined to the stability of personnel, indicates definite progress over the system of Demia.

155. Cordonnier, p. 250. Louis XIV also chose the Sisters of Saint Maur to be his auxiliaries in the province of Languedoc, teaching schools for the daughters of the newly converted Huguenots.

156. Cordonnier, p. 277.

157. André Rayez, "Etudes Lasalliennes," Revue d'ascéticisme et de mysticisme 109 (Jan-Mar, 1952): 59. "Let us stop for a moment on the relationship of Roland and his friend, DeLaSalle. This is to touch upon one of the most delicate and captivating of the 'sources' of DeLaSalle. . . . DeLaSalle is so inspired by Roland in setting up his own foundation that it is practically impossible to separate what comes from one and from the other. The bonds of 'filiation' which unite them [Roland and DeLaSalle] to each other and with Barré are so strong that a profound examination of their methods, of their writings, and of their spirit would only confirm more their indissoluble relation." p. 57. See also Poutet, At Grips, p. 4.

158. Bernoville, p. 106.

159. Poutet, Les origines 1:587. See also Battersby, Pioneer, p. 29.

160. Blain, p. 25.

161. Ibid., p. 24.

162. Poutet, Les origines 1:542.

163. Ibid., p. 548.

164. Compayré, C.Demia, p. 15. When DeLaSalle was traveling in the south of France he "stopped a few days at Lyon to study the work of M.Demia." Ravelet, p. 393. In 1687 Demia as director of schools recorded in his accounting journal, "LaSale [sic] of Reims in Champagne has sent me for purchase of books, four Spanish doublons,

that is to say, about eighty pounds tournois." Poutet, Les origines 1:711.

165. Ibid., p. 18.

166. Ibid., p. 79.

167. Pungier, p. 47. "The Remonstrances of Demia profoundly impressed DeLaSalle. Not only their principal ideas, but entire paragraphs were retained and passed into his writings." Poutet, Les origines 1:550.

168. Compayré, C.Demia, p. 20. See also Pungier, p. 47.

169. Ibid., p. 112.

170. Pungier, p. 47.

171. Bernoville, p. 104.

172. Pungier, p. 48.

173. Compayré, C.Demia, p. 71.

174. Pungier, p. 48.

175. Compayré, C.Demia, p. 112.

176. Pungier, pp. 48-49.

177. Ibid., p. 49. Demia's School Board was composed of sixteen notables: eight ecclesiastics and eight laity. Compayré was impressed with this half lay, half cleric composition.

178. Poutet, Les origines 1:710. The seminary of Saint Charles is named after Saint Charles Borromeo, a sixteenth century tridentine reformer who had great success in the reform of clergy and catechism in Milan. Pungier, p.50.

179. Chartier, p. 68.

180. Ibid.

181. Allain, p. 251.

182. Chartier, p. 76.

183. "With regard to the claims made in favor of Demia with respect to training colleges, there appears to be some confusion as to the meaning of the word "séminaire." DeLaSalle called his establishments for student teachers, "séminaire de maitre de campagne."

Demia's institution in Lyons was also called "séminaire de Saint Charles." Although the same word is used in both cases, the sense is different. In the first instance, when it refers to the work of DeLaSalle, it is accurate to translate it as "training college." As applied to Demia's foundation, however, the English equivalent is "seminary," for it was a place intended for the training of priests." Battersby, Pioneer, p. 114. Two excerpts from Compayré are typical examples of the flavor of the comments in this dialogue on priority. "In a word he [Demia] has been a little as Christopher Columbus of the Catholic primary school. J. B. DeLaSalle, more brilliant in success, but who came after Demia, has been only American Vespucius." Demia, p. 113. "What Ferdinand Buisson said recently of John Baptist DeLaSalle, the founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, when he represented him as having been a kind of Catholic Pestolozzi, a century before the other, we are able without hestitation to repeat it of Charles Demia, the creator of the little schools of Lyon. There is between these two men of the seventeenth century more than one similarity. They both worked at the same school work. But Demia has the advantage over DeLaSalle of having an advance of a dozen years in projects and ideas. Demia is also superior in that he undertook the care of the instruction of girls as much as that of boys. For the rest he remains at least his equal." Demia, p. 113.

184. Compayré, C.Demia, p. 52.

185. E.P. Cubberley, The History of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), p. 348. Taken from Guyatt, p. 21.

186. Fitzpatrick, p. 292.

187. A. Bonnel, De l'enseignement à Lyon avant la révolution (Lyon: Pitrat, p. 38). Taken from Guyatt, p. 20.

188. L. Riboulet, Manuel de l'histoire de la pedagogie (Lyon: Vitte, 1941), p. 283. Taken from Guyatt, p. 22.

189. F. Rynois, Un grand homme trop peu connu: Charles Demia (Lyon: Vitte, 1937), pp. 49-53. Taken from Guyatt, p. 22.

190. F. Brunot, Histoire de la langue française des origines a 1900 5 (Paris: Colin, 1905): 38. Taken from Guyatt, p. 3.

191. Ibid., p. 71. "Between the years 1679-1693, 427 individuals entered the seminary of Saint Charles or an average of 28 per year."

192. Pungier, p. 51.

193. Chartier, p. 68. Poutet has uncovered correspondence in which several members of the School Board want to confide all the little schools of Lyon and the direction of the Seminary of Saint

Charles to the Brothers of the Christian Schools in order to make it a seminary for teachers. The bishop sided with the other members of the School Board and the idea of introducing the Brothers of the Christian Schools was rejected. Poutet, Les origines 1:243.

194. Compayre, C.Demia p. 55. One wonders what Compayre had in mind when he speaks of the Sisters of Saint Charles as "half lay and half ecclesiastical."

195. Poutet, Les origines 1:709-710. See also Pungier, p. 50.

196. Compayré, C.Demia, p. 72.

197. Chartier, p. 213.

198. Poutet, Les origines 1:301-302.

199. Ibid., p. 210. Demia opened his first school in 1666.

200. Allain, p. 25. Compayré informs us that Demia had another reason for speaking to the General Assembly: that the bishops consider establishing hospices for sickly priests and for incorrigible priests. Compayré, C.Demia, pp. 14, 31.

201. M. Auguste, "L'idée d'un séminaire et d'un institut de maitres d'école à Paris en 1685," Les Bulletins 9 (October 1959): 210. The Avis important is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in a printed collection. It is seven pages long. On page seven are the daily exercises to be practiced daily in the seminary of schoolteachers. It is dated 1688. Apparently Rigault and Fitzpatrick did not know about this copy.

202. Auguste, pp. 211, 214. This law dispensing confiscated wealth accounts for the fact that Demia stresses in his memoire the accountability required for the use of funds and the financial reports to be given.

203. Poutet, Les origines 1:714. It is not very likely that Demia was aware of the three different kinds of teacher formation groups that DeLaSalle had functioning in Reims.

204. Auguste, pp. 212 - 214.

205. Ibid., p. 216.

206. Azarias, p. 250. At the time when DeLaSalle was being opposed by the superintendent of schools of Paris and the writing masters and teaching masters, Chennevières had won the backing of the superintendent of schools, the faculty of the Sorbonne, and twenty-five pastors in Paris for his request of letters patent.

207. Auguste, Les Bulletins 9 (July 1959): 131-137.

208. Ibid., p. 134.

209. Allain, p. 288.

210. Ravelet, pp. 89-90.

211. Renault, p. 35.

212. Ibid., p. 85. Maximes, dedicated to Mme. de Maintenon and published in Paris in 1694, contains 235 maxims for people in general; 54 for spiritual directors; 40 for charity school teachers; 13 for anyone associated with charity institutions.

213. Ibid., pp. 104.

214. Ibid., p. 105.

215. Cordonnier, p. 260.

216. Rigault, Histoire 1:102.

217. Cordonnier, p. 257.

218. Rigault, Histoire 1:103.

219. Cordonnier, p. 292.

220. Rigault, Histoire 1:104. The quote is from an unedited treatise entitled, Avis pour faire le catéchisme utilement.

221. "The Barré Brothers have vanished as phantoms." Rigault, Histoire 1:96.

222. Poutet, Les origines 1:515.

223. Blain, pp. 33-34.

224. Poutet, Les origines 1:517. Apparently Barré was insistent that his brother teachers be polite and well mannered.

225. Poutet, Les origines 2:336. Poutet has uncovered a letter of 1686 of Louis Tronson, director of Saint Sulpice, replying to an inquiry about obtaining teachers to go to Canada: "The Mimin who organized the men teachers and women teachers was Père Barré. . . . but the men teachers are not succeeding very well." Les origines 1:518.

226. Poutet, Les origines 1:524.

227. Rigault, Histoire 1:96.

228. "Le costume des frères en 1721," Les Bulletins 5, (Jan. 1911): 58.

229. Rigault, Histoire 1:83.

230. Cordonnier, p. 231.

231. Rigault, Histoire 1:83.

232. Poutet, Les origines 1:525.

233. Ibid., p. 629. See also Poutet and Vermeulen, "Adrien Nyel, precurseur de Saint Jean Baptiste DeLaSalle," Les Bulletins 44 (July 1963): p. 148.

234. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 32.

235. Chartier, p. 69. In contrast to Demia, Nyel deals only with laymen. Poutet, Les origines 1:503. See also DeViguerie, p. 60.

236. Ravelet, pp. 134-5.

237. Poutet, Les origines 1:524.

238. Ibid., p. 516.

239. Cordonnier, pp. 218-222.

240. Poutet, Les origines 1:481.

241. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 25.

242. "The origin of my interest in schools for poor boys was due to two circumstances: my meeting with M. Nyel and the proposal made to me by Mme. Croyère. Before this I had never given the matter a thought." Battersby, Pioneer, p. 37.

243. Poutet and Vermeulen, Les Bulletins 44 (July 1963): 146-147.

244. Blain, Cahiers lasalliens 7:29.

245. Bernard, Cahiers lasalliens 4:63. See also Ravelet, pp. 106-107.

246. Poutet and Vermeulen, Les Bulletins 44, (July 1963): 153.

247. Bernoville (1951) and Merlaud (1955) give different interpretations of the working relationship of Nyel and DeLaSalle.

Bernoville: "The departure of Nyel ends a situation which, to tell the truth, was no more than a fiction. All the time DeLaSalle was the single support and counsel, the director of the teachers and the founder of the schools." Merlaud: "As benefactor and counselor up to this time, DeLaSalle avoided interferring in the overwhelming enterprises of his companion Nyel. But since the departure of Nyel, DeLaSalle saw himself constrained to assume the direction of the work, to be at the same time architect and pilot of the teachers." August and Vermeulen maintain that in reality DeLaSalle had not ceased to intervene into the enterprises of Nyel from the beginning, and that official documents keep a record of this intervention. Poutet and Vermeulen, p. 154.

248. Salm, p. 20.

249. Poutet and Vermeulen, p. 153. See footnote 47.

250. Ibid., p. 153.

251. Ibid., pp. 151-154.

252. Salm, p. 18.

253. Auguste, Les Bulletins 41 (July 1960): 127.

Notes to Chapter II

1. The differentiation which DeLaSalle made in the grand design between urban and rural was not original. It drew its source in current legislation which distinguished cities and the countryside. Poutet, Les origines 2:69.

2. Leon Aroz, Cahiers lasalliens 39 (Rome: Maison Générale, 1979). Cahiers 39 traces the entire genealogy of John Baptist DeLaSalle. Aroz's research on the DeLaSalle family documentation and business affairs is contained in Cahiers lasalliens 26-41.

3. DeLaSalle did not attend the Jesuit College in Reims. He had family connections that tied him to the University of Reims and its dependent Collège des Bons Enfants.

4. The topic of the doctoral dissertation of DeLaSalle is not known. "Vers une biographie critique de Saint Jean Baptiste DeLaSalle," Les Bulletins 42 (July 1961): 72.

5. Cahiers lasalliens 10:107.

6. The pastor insisted that all the "boarders" attend Sunday Mass in the parish church. DeLaSalle refused on the grounds that the

reputations of some "boarders" who were delinquents and their families would be jeopardized if recognized by the parishioners.

7. Brothers of the Christian Schools, The Rule, 40th General Chapter.

8. Cahiers lasalliens 4:6. See also Didymus John, "The First Biographer of St. LaSalle," Lasallian Digest 1 (Winter 1958-59): 24.

9. Didymus John, "The First Biographer," p. 26.

10. Cahiers lasalliens 4:xv. Some of the passages that Louis DeLaSalle corrected were references to the Pope's infallibility; all praise of St.Sulpice; his role in the founding of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; references to DeLaSalle bringing the teachers into his home. Louis objected to the lines which described the path left by DeLaSalle when he met with an accident as being "marked clearly enough by his vomiting." On the other hand the author points out: "An attentive reading suffices to remark the glaring banality of a large number of phrases, the exasperating poverty of vocabulary and fantastic misspelling. One can understand more easily why Louis DeLaSalle did not push hard his work of correction. The style of the manuscript, in effect, is such to disarm the best of good intentions." pp. xiii-xv.

11. Rigault, Histoire 1:iii-vi.

12. Dom Elie Maillefer, The Life of John Baptist DeLaSalle (Winona, Minn.: St.Mary's College Press, 1963), Foreword.

13. Ibid., p. 164.

14. Rigault, Histoire 1:v-vii. The brothers gave Blain the manuscripts of Bernard and Maillefer to write "a detailed and edifying life of DeLaSalle that could be presented later at Rome at a possible process of beatification." Rayez, says in "Etudes lasalliennes," to the chagrin of historians: "It is not temerarious to fear that Blain used the texts from which he cited for toilet paper." p. 25.

15. Emile Lett, Les premiers biographes de saint Jean-Baptiste DeLaSalle (Paris: Ligel, 1956), p. 14.

16. Battersby, "Canon Blain's Lasallian Biography," Lasallian Digest 7 (Winter 1965): 10.

27. Salm, p. x.

18. Auguste, "Vers un biographie critique," p. 70.

19. Lett, p. 7.

20. Michel Sauvage and Miguel Campos, Announcing the Gospel to the Poor, The Spiritual Experience and Spiritual Teaching of Saint John Baptist DeLaSalle, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Winona, Minnesota: St. Mary's College Press, 1981), p. 241.

21. Cahiers lasalliens 4: Introduction.

22. Battersby, "Lasallian Bibliography," Lasallian Digest 4 (Spring 1962): 8.

23. Salm, p. viii.

24. Bernard says that the Memoire covered the first fourteen years, that is, up to 1694 when DeLaSalle and some Brothers for the first time made vows to remain together. Cahiers lasalliens 10:105.

25. In this context Blain uses the French word, canaille, (scum) to describe the first teachers that DeLaSalle invited into his home. Canaille is perhaps the most opprobrious word that a polite writer like Blain could possibly have used. Salm, p. 65.

26. Othmar Wurth, Monograph, "La pédagogie de J. B. DeLaSalle," Lasallianum 15 (November 1972).

27. Ibid., p. 15.

28. Ibid., p. 10. This same kind of point of departure 'outside of himself' is operative in the establishment of other works by DeLaSalle: the seminary for country schoolteachers, the boarding school for the Irish exiles, the Sunday school for working adolescents, the reform schools at St.Yon.

29. Blain, p. 60.

30. Sauvage, Announcing the Gospel, p. 15.

31. Wurth, p. 16.

32. Blain, p. 182.

33. Battersby, DeLaSalle, p. 40.

34. Salm, p. 14.

35. Auguste, Les Bulletins 42 (July 1961): 74.

36. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 38.

37. Auguste, "La date du 24 juin et les origines des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes," Les Bulletins 40 (January 1959): 34. The housing and meal moves were a real economic consideration for DeLaSalle.

Rooming and boarding in his home assured a much more economical use of the limited resources.

38. Auguste, Les Bulletins 42 (July 1961), pp. 72-74.

39. June 24, the feast of St. John the Baptist and the name's day of DeLaSalle, has long been featured as an important repeating date in the life and vocation of DeLaSalle. For example, it is the date of the series of moves bringing the teachers into DeLaSalle's home and into the community house on rue Neuve. However, Auguste has discovered the practical reason for this date: it was the date for all annual rents to be renewed in Reims! In Reims, in the matter of renting rooms or houses, the year began on the feast of St.John the Baptist, June 24. The date was imposed upon DeLaSalle. He had to decide to renew the rent of the Brothers or not. If there was any special spiritual significance of this date for DeLaSalle, its existential import was more mundane. Auguste, "La date du 24 juin et les origines des frères," p. 27.

40. Poutet, Les origines 1:642.

41. Compayre, History of Pedagogy, p. 260.

42. Lett, p. 23.

43. Sauvage, Announcing the Gospel, p. 68.

44. Salm, p. 16.

45. Sauvage, Announcing the Gospel, pp. 19-20.

46. Blain, p. 152.

47. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 41.

48. Cahiers lasalliens 25:4. Footnote.

49. Salm, p. 18-19.

50. Maillefer, p. 25.

51. The Catalogue was compiled in 1714, a critical year for the brother teachers and one in which they reasserted their loyalty to DeLaSalle and their association. Cahiers lasalliens 3:29.

52. Ibid., p. 30.

53. Ibid., p. 28.

54. Ibid., p. 31.

55. Ibid., p. 29.

56. Ibid., footnote.

57. These figures and the following on occupations have been extrapolated from the tableaux compiled by Chartier. Chartier, p. 70.

58. Ibid., p. 71.

59. In popular biographies of DeLaSalle one reads that he gave up his canonry and wealth to be like the poor who were to be taught. More exactly DeLaSalle gave up his fortune to reassure the teachers in their concern for their own security that he was with them entirely. Sauvage, p. 21.

60. Ibid., p. 190.

61. Poutet, Les origines 1:731-737.

62. Sauvage, p. 118.

63. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 54.

64. Salm, p. 23.

65. "Each also had the right to communicate his thoughts and feelings. DeLaSalle did not anticipate them or suggest his own views to them or inculcate his own ideas. . . . It is not that he failed to help them with his insights or to rectify their views when these were not sensible and acceptable. He did this, however, in such a way that his own self-love did not enter into the picture and that their freedom to propose and urge their own views was not hindered." Sauvage, p. 19. Quoting Blain.

66. Salm, p. 28.

67. Chartier, p. 69.

68. Poutet, Les origines 2:313.

69. Sauvage, p. 158. In place of the traditional schoolteacher who worked in isolation in front of his pupils, DeLaSalle substituted the notion of a teaching community (faculty). It was 'together and by association' that the Brothers of the Christian Schools were expected to reflect upon their mission, draw up their programs, and exchange pedagogical insights. Salm, p. 87.

70. Fontainerie, p. 48.

71. Brother Agatho, "The Social Influence of St. DeLaSalle," LaSalle Catechist 13 (Spring 1947): 26.

72. As no novitiate had yet been established, it sufficed for an aspirant to spend two weeks with DeLaSalle to be ready to go into class [italics mine]. Cahiers lasalliens 4:79. Rigault relates the case of Brother Irenaeus, (M. Dulac de Montislambert), a noble, who had been a lieutenant in the army at fourteen years of age, left the army and sought entrance into the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The director acquainted him with The Rule, cut his hair short, gave him the name Brother Irenaeus, and put him through the exercises of the novitiate. Fifteen days later, he sent him to direct a school at Avignon, then to Paris, and finally to St. Yon where he became the director of novices.

73. Poutet, Les origines 1:662.

74. Salm, p. 26.

75. Poutet, Les origines 1:690.

76. Blain, p. 79. Bernard, p. 45.

77. Auguste, "L'idee d'un séminaire et d'un institut de maitres d'école à Paris en 1685," Les Bulletins 41 (April 1960): 56-58.

78. Poutet, Les origines 1:690-692.

79. The Rule of 1705.

80. In 1683 Nicholas Vuyart was only 19-20 years old, and the oldest member of the Lasallian community had not yet experienced for three years the methods of teaching which were soon to characterize the brother teachers. Poutet, Les origines 1:691.

81. During this time in Rethel, Mlles. Mesnard and Chevalier had established a seminary for country schoolteachers. At this time Mazarin sponsored the formation of women teachers in preparatory centers for charity schoolteachers. The undertakings were probably the same. Poutet, Les origines 1:680-686, 692.

82. Saint Simon wrote of Mazarin as a handsome but fat man who lacked intelligence. Saint Evremond wrote: a man with whom the most submissive woman would not live more than a week. Mme. DeSévigné wrote: he is crazy. His devotion is all mixed up in his head. Archbishop LeTellier called him a fool. Poutet, Les origines 1:678-679.

83. Bibliotheque nationale, man.fs.fr. no.20.710, p.54. The famous Instructions to the Caretakers of Each Parish asks the

caretakers to take care that the schoolteacher sweep out the church twice a week. Poutet, Les origines 1:682.

84. Auguste says that Rigault and Battersby never knew of all three of these documents. They relied on the article, "Le Duc de Mazarin et Saint Jean Baptiste DeLaSalle," Les Bulletins 2 (March 1908):108-119. "L'idée d'un séminaire," p. 58.

85. Ibid., p. 59.

86. The Archbishop of Reims called both DeLaSalle and Mazarin fools.

87. Poutet, Les origines 1:695-697.

88. Auguste, "L'idée d'un séminaire," p. 61.

89. Salm, p. 29.

90. Poutet, Les origines 1:702. Auguste, "L'idée d'un séminarie," p. 59.

91. Salm, p. 19.

92. Poutet, Les origines 1:702-707.

93. Ravelet, p. 184. To have country parish priests living in his house was not unusual for DeLaSalle. He had opened his house to country priests before he had become associated with the brother teachers.

94. Salm, p. 30.

95. Poutet, Les origines 2:376.

96. Ibid. DeLaSalle reversed the order of priorities commonly admitted in France in this epoch. Instead of working to found schools, DeLaSalle aimed at forming teachers. By this means he transformed the schools, breathing a new spirit into them.

97. Salm, p. 51. Poutet places a question mark after the dates of this school, signifying its location at Rue Neuve as questionable.

98. Cahiers lasalliens 4:85. Maillefer, p. 43. Salm, p. 31.

99. In 1703 the parish priest of Crosné eight miles outside of Paris requested a secretary teacher. We have the substance of DeLaSalle's reply: It was impossible to accede to the wishes of the parish priest of Crosné because the duties of secretary in a rectory were incompatible with the assiduous nature of the work in any well run school. Poutet, Les origines 1:565.

100. Maillefer, p. 44.

101. Poutet, Les origines 1:703.

102. Auguste, "L'idée d'un séminaire," p. 119.

103. Maximin makes the separation of the seminary for country schoolteachers by DeLaSalle as a basis for the separation of the Belgian normal school from rest of the university. Maximin, p. 76.

104. Salm, p. 30.

105. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 62.

106. DeLaSalle's originality in teacher formation is based in the fact that he took the internal organization of his brother teachers out of the diocesan structure. Auguste, "L'idée d'un séminarie," p. 119.

107. Ibid., p. 126.

108. Poutet, Les origines 1:705-706.

109. Maximin, pp. 88-89.

110. Compayré, History of Pedagogy, p. 277.

111. Ibid., pp. 261-262, 277.

112. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 62.

113. Ibid.

114. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 121.

115. "Notes sur St. J. B. DeLaSalle par un contemporain," Les Bulletins 5 (April 1911): 139-141.

116. Auguste, Cahiers lasalliens 2.

117. Poutet, Les origines 1:588.

118. Cahiers lasalliens 3:80-83.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid., p. 29.

121. Poutet, Les origines 1:64.

122. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 130. Ravelet, p. 208. Blain, Bk.II, Ch.XI, p.2. This sentence does not coincide with the results of Chartier's study on the occupations of the brothers.

123. Battersby, St. John Baptist DeLaSalle, pp. 158-159. The words of welcome to the brothers by the Bishop of Chartres reveal something about the work being done in the education for girls by the secular congregations: "We recognize with great consolation that God has been pleased to bestow abundant blessings on the charity schools for girls which have been established in some parishes, and this has urged us to secure like advantages for boys. . . . We have brought hither schoolteachers excellently trained in their holy functions, capable of edifying by their example, and skilled in instructing the young in all necessary knowledge."

124. Guibert, p. 299. Maximin, p. 34.

125. Battersby, St. John Baptist DeLaSalle, p. 154. St. Cassian was a Roman Christian teacher who was martyred by his students, at the instigation of the Roman soldiers, as the target of their pens!

126. Lett, p. 58.

127. Maillefer, pp. 94-96. Battersby, St. John Baptist DeLaSalle, p. 188.

128. Maximin cites the acceptance practices of DeLaSalle as a basis for high standards of acceptance in the Belgian normal schools. Maximin, p. 35.

129. Ibid., p. 36.

130. Compayré, History of Pedagogy, p. 262.

131. Maximin, p. 37.

132. Battersby, St. John Baptist DeLaSalle, p. 157.

133. Poutet, Les origines 2:331. Maximin, p.166.

134. Poutet, Les origines 2:84.

135. Battersby, St.John Baptist DeLaSalle, p. 158.

136. Ibid., p. 34.

137. Blain says that DeLaSalle came to make some arrangement with Vuyart only to find his chief disciple deny him and tell him haughtily that he no longer wished to recognize him. Battersby, St.John Baptist DeLaSalle, p. 188.

138. Rigault, Histoire 1:255.

139. These funds of DeLaSalle, most likely, were from Mazarin,who continued some form of an annual support for the formation of teachers by DeLaSalle until 1713. Poutet, Les origines 1:704.

140. Battersby, St. John Baptist DeLaSalle, pp. 223-226, 237-240. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 29. Poutet, Les origines 2:30. These references also refer to the outcome of the Clement case.

141. Poutet, Les origines 1:701.

142. Ibid., 2:331. Poutet gives three reasons for the failure of the association with the Holy Spirit Fathers: (1) the lack of houses of the priests in Rouen; (2) the fall of the seminary of St. Denis; (3) the death of Poullart Des Places. For further reference: J. Michel, Claude-François Poullart Des Places. Paris, 1962. Yves Poutet, "Poullart Des Places et Saint J. B. DeLaSalle," Spiritus 6 (February 1961): 49-67.

143. Battersby, St. John Baptist DeLaSalle, p. 226.

144. Lett, p. 43.

145. Poutet, Les origines 2:282.

146. Battersby, St. John Baptist DeLaSalle, p. 231.

147. Poutet, Les origines 2:171-172, 186-187, 204, 222.

148. Ibid., p. 377.

149. Lett, p. 43.

150. Blain 1:56.

151. Poutet, Les origines 1:706.

152. Ibid., 2:311. Footnote.

153. Ibid., 2:312.

154. Battersby, St. John Baptist DeLaSalle, pp. 246-249.

155. Ibid., p. 201.

156. Ibid., p. 202. DeViguerie makes some interesting comments about the boarding schools which became very popular: "If the Revolution had not put an end to the experience of the boarding schools of the Brothers (pensionnats des freres), these boarding schools of the Brothers would have emptied the colleges. They

responded to the needs of a bourgeoisie desirous of putting their sons in the army, in business, and in industry. . . . This kind of boarding school was anti-college. Colleges passed for being the conservators of humanistic culture. The boarding schools of the Brothers were laboratories in which the pedagogy of the enlightenment made its experience." pp. 132-136.

157. Blain, Cahiers lasalliens 8:32.

158. Wurth, pp. 68-75.

159. St. Yon housed three institutions of education, re-education, and incarceration: pension de libre, pension de correction, and pension de force. DeLaSalle was asked to start a pension de force (prison) for cases, sentenced by the court, lettre de cachet, whose families were able to arrange confinement with DeLaSalle at St. Yon and whose identity remained unknown. Wealthy families made this arrangement so that their sons would be spared the abominable conditions of the government prisons. Recalcitrant members of the clergy and religious orders were also "boarded" in the pension de force at St. Yon.

160. Ibid., p. 11-12.

161. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 60; Histoire 1:398.

162. Maximin, p. 46.

Notes to Chapter III

1. John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 164.

2. The complete title was Meditations for the Time of Retreat for the Use of Those Persons Engaged in the Education of Youth. The title indicates that the meditations were not intended exclusively for the brothers; DeLaSalle must have had in mind the country school-teachers and, possibly, sisters. Cahiers lasalliens vol. 13. Hereafter cited as The Meditations.

3. Anselme, "La modernité de Saint Jean Baptiste DeLaSalle en pédagogie," Les Bulletins 26 (January 1938): 64-75.

4. Gilmartin, p. 44.

5. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 69.

6. Sauvage and Compos, Announcing the Gospel, p. 181. Rigault, Histoire 1:575.

7. Cahiers lasalliens 10:75.

8. Pope John XXIII, "Mission of the High School Teacher," Lasallian Digest 3 (Spring 1961): 7.

9. Lett, p. 27.

10. Fitzpatrick, Patron, p. 224.

11. Ibid., p. 288.

12. Ibid., p. 281.

13. Pungier, p. 9.

14. Ibid., p. 12-13.

15. Ibid., p. 13. Blain speaks about an incident in which a difference in points of view arose regarding a text DeLaSalle had submitted to the brothers. DeLaSalle did not resolve the difference himself. He proposed the arbitration of three superiors of other religious communities. Cahiers lasalliens 10:92.

16. The 1706 manuscript is filed under the heading: ms. fr. 11759.

17. Anselme, La conduite des écoles chrétiennes (Paris: Procure Générale, 1951), p. 21.

18. Rigault, Histoire 1:568.

19. Anselme, La conduite, p. 45.

20. The manuscript is filed under the heading: Frères des écoles chrétiennes d'Avignon, H.1.2.3.

21. Rigault, Histoire 1:565, 568-9.

22. "Le très honoré frère Agathon," Monograph, Les Bulletins, (Bruxelles: Hayez, 1938), p. 48. Brother Agathon did not receive much help from the brothers in his revision, and so he wrote: "The brothers, not having sent in their observations and opinions which had been asked of them to help in the reconstruction of this work, are not able to complain if it does not conform to their desires which they have judged not to make known."

23. Anselme, La conduite, p. 44.

24. Ibid., p. 50.

25. Ibid., p. 51.

26. Elements of Pedagogy (New York: LaSalle Bureau, 1910). Management of Christian Schools (New York: DeLaSalle Institute, 1916).

27. Brother U. Alfred, "High School Management Makes Its Debut," Lasallian Digest 7 (Summer 1965): 16.

28. Brother D. John, ed., High School Management Series, General Introduction (Winona: St. Mary's College Press, 1965).

29. Brother Alfred, "High School Management Makes Its Debut," p. 17.

30. Brother D. John, High School Management Series, General Introduction, p. 16.

31. Ibid.

32. A Teacher's Guide, mimeograph, (Lincroft, N.J.: Lasalle Provincialate, 1980), Preface v.

33. The author wishes to thank Brother Jean Pungier who gratiously xeroxed and distributed copies of The Parish School upon request to researchers thoughout the world.

34. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 112.

35. Anselme, La conduite, p. 305

36. Anselme, La conduite, pp. 305, 312.

37. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 112.

38. Ibid., pp. 305-312.

39. Ibid., pp. 312-315.

40. Frère Alphonse, A l'école de Saint Jean-Baptiste DeLaSalle (Paris: Ligel, 1952), p. 344.

41. Cahiers lasalliens 24:236.

42. Maximin, p. 163.

43. Anselme, La conduite, pp. 305-312.

44. Lett, p. 57.

45. Ibid., p. 58.

46. Fontainerie, p. 224.

47. Pungier, pp. 21-23.

48. Bartholomew Edwin, "Primary Education in St. LaSalle's Day," Lasallian Digest 3 (Winter 1960): 14.

49. Cahiers lasalliens 3:80-83.

50. Ibid.

51. Anselme, La conduite, p. 189.

52. Poutet, Les origines 2:61.

53. Salm, Beginnings, p. 89. Lett, p. 29.

54. This list is a compilation of the lists of Agathon, Anselme, Fontainerie, Grande and Salm.

55. Fontainerie, p. 65.

56. The Rule IX, 10.

57. Meditation 424.

58. Meditation for 3rd Sunday of Pentecost.

59. Meditation for 2nd Sunday of Easter.

60. Meditation for August 13.

61. Meditation for 2nd Sunday of Easter.

62. Meditations for Time of Retreat, 6/1.

63. Meditation for August 13.

64. Letter 172.

65. Meditation for 3rd Sunday of Pentecost.

66. Meditation 294.

67. Meditation 16.

68. Alphonse, A l'école, p. 346.

69. Le très honoré frère Agathon, Monograph (Roma: Maison générale, 1937), p. 55.

70. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 120.

71. Luke M. Grande, 12 Virtues of a Good Teacher, (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962), p. 18.

72. Poutet, Les origines 1:116.

73. Alphonse, A l'école, p. 347.

74. Pungier, p. 25.

75. Ibid., pp. 23-24.

76. Fitzpatrick, Patron, p. 164.

77. Ibid., p. 255.

78. Fredien Charles, "DeLaSalle's Pedagogy and Modern Methods," Lasalle Catechist 15 (Spring 1949): 75.

79. Cahiers lasalliens 10:79-80.

80. Fitzpatrick, Patron, p. 264.

81. Meditations 150, 107, 139.

82. Campos, Meditations, p. 3. This English translation in 1975 by Augustine Loes with an Introduction by Miguel Campos has guaranteed Meditations for Time of Retreat a place in teacher formation literature.

83. Ibid., p. 5.

84. Ibid., p. 19.

85. Ibid., p. 7.

86. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

87. Rigault, Histoire 1:498.

88. Rayez, "Etudes Lasalliennes," Revue d'ascéticisme et mysticisme 109 (Jan-Mar 1952): 18-63.

89. Campos, Meditations, p. 6.

90. Rigault, "Paulian Influences on the Pedagogical Doctrine of St. Lasalle," Lasallian Digest 9 (Spring 1967): 199.

91. Poutet, Les origines 1:205-209.

92. Ibid., p. 527.

93. Ibid., p. 327.

94. Pungier, p. 54. The author is indebted to Pungier for the description of the "three conversions" which DeLaSalle called the teacher to in The Meditations.

95. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing the Gospel, p. 119.

96. Cahiers lasalliens 7:240-241.

97. Ibid. See Pungier, p. 55, for commentary.

98. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing the Gospel, p. 112.

99. Campos, Meditations, p. 49.

100. Pungier, p. 76.

101. Ibid., pp. 63, 65.

102. Meditation 101.

103. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing the Gospel, p. 335.

104. Ibid., p. 113.

105. Meditation for feast of Saint Nicholas.

106. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing the Gospel, p. 116.

107. Alphonse, Le maitre chrétien, p. 49.

108. Meditations 101, 132.

109. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing the Gospel, p. 191.

110. Ibid., p. 117.

111. Campos, Meditations, p. 59.

112. Pungier, p. 92.

113. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing the Gospel, p. 224.

114. Ibid., p. 73.

115. Meditation 90. "Since you take the place of the fathers and mothers and priests you are obliged to watch over them, knowing that you will have an account to give of their souls." Meditation 30.

116. Campos, Meditations, p. 25.

117. Auguste, "Le vocabulaire," Monograph, Lasallianum 4 (Roma: Communauté des étudiants, 1965): 118.

118. The author is indebted to Brother Erminus Joseph who, in informal discussion, provided him with this definition and with other insights into the spirituality of DeLaSalle.

119. Pungier, p. 18.

120. Cahiers lasalliens 16:58.

121. Alphonse, A l'école, pp. 327-328. Le maitre, p. 50.

122. Campos, Meditations, p. 25.

123. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing the Gospel, p. 92.

124. Campos, Meditations, p. 67.

125. Poutet, Les origines 1:116.

126. Erminus Joseph, "Optimism of St. LaSalle," Lasallian Digest 3 (Spring 1961): 59.

127. Brother Robert Laube, "The Teaching Brother as the Minister of the Spirit of God," Lasallian Digest 10 (Fall 1966): 15.

128. Meditation 43.

129. Meditation 80.

130. Pungier, p. 14.

131. Battersby, Life, p. 311.

132. Cahiers lasalliens 10:74.

133. Fitzpatrick, Patron, p. 234.

134. Brother Philip, Educational Essays, (July 1940), p.21

135. Cahiers lasalliens 16:20.

136. Ibid., p. 46.

137. Collection of Short Treatises (Paris: Maison Mere, 1906), pp. 174-178.

138. Ibid., pp. 55-57.

139. Leo Kirby, "The Humanity of St. Lasalle," Lasallian Digest 1 (Winter 1958): 59.

140. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing the Gospel, p. 34.

141. Cahiers lasalliens 25:16-17.

142. Pungier, p. 21.

143. Poutet, Les origines 1:115.

144. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 66.

145. Fitzpatrick, Patron, p. 244.

146. Alphonse, Le maitre, pp. 37-50.

147. Brother Saturnino, "Theology of Education," Lasallian Digest 1 (Fall 1958): 91.

148. Maximin, Les normales ecoles, chapter 5.

149. Alphonse, A l'école, p. 339.

150. Christopher Francis, "St. Lasalle as Christian Humanist," Lasallian Digest 6 (Fall 1963): 81.

151. Alphonse, A l'école, p. 326.

152. "Personal Rules of DeLaSalle," mimeograph (Rome: Maison generale, 1972).

153. Cahiers lasalliens 16:58.

154. Cahiers lasalliens 19: preface.

155. Christopher Francis, p. 81.

156. Poutet, Les origines 1:528.

157. Meditation for feast of Saint Cassian.

158. Francis Emery, "St. Lasalle's Educational Principles," Lasallian Digest 2 (Summer 1960): 41.

159. Meditation 160. See also Alphonse, A l'école, p. 340.

160. The New Cambridge Modern History: "Ascendancy of France," 5 (Cambridge: University Press, 1961): 233

161. Alphonse, A l'école, p. 335.

162. Brother U. Alfred, "Educational Contributions of St. Lasalle," Lasallian Digest 1 (Winter 1958-59): 9.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. The Parish School introduced the beginning teacher to teaching by a study of the theological and moral virtues.

2. Chartier, p. 114.

3. Anselme, p. 262. References to the 1705 edition of The Conduct are made to the critical edition of Brother Anselme. References to the 1720 edition are made to the English translation of Fontainerie. References to either or both editions, especially comparative texts, are made to Cahiers lasalliens vol. 24.

4. Cahiers lasalliens 24:270.

5. Chartier, p. 145.

6. Fontainerie, Part One, passim.

7. Chartier, p. 111.

8. Azarias, p. 198. Gilmartin, p. 41.

9. Chartier, p. 151. "In the college the controlled progression towards the heights of knowledge changed school life into an obstacle course." DeViguerie, p. 112.

10. Gilmartin, p. 46.

11. Azarias, p. 231. Gilmartin, p. 120. Chartier, p. 129.

12. Gilmartin, p. 51.

13. Pungier, p. 27.

14. Poutet, Les origines 2:29.

15. Cahiers lasalliens 24:274.

16. Anselme, pp. 9, 71.

17. Pungier, p. 97. Fontainerie, p. 63. Anselme, p. 253.

18. Sauvage, Announcing, p. 61. Alphonse, A l'école, p. 32.

19. Hamilton, p. 291. Pungier, p. 96.

20. Cahiers lasalliens 24:263.

21. Fontainerie, p. 67.

22. Cahiers lasalliens 24:289.

23. Chartier, p. 117.

24. Cahiers lasalliens 24:287.

25. Fontainerie, p. 68. Unlike the Lancastrian system, DeLaSalle's promotion did not require another student to move down. Promotion was not competitive for DeLaSalle.

26. Cahiers lasalliens 24:273. DeLaSalle's retention of the bancs des ignorants to solve the problem of student laziness (paresse scolaire) was still much more humane than the "donkey's cap and sign," which provoked the ridicule and punishment of the other students.

27. Hamilton, p. 282.

28. Ibid., p. 285.

29. Raymond Tronchot, L'enseignement mutuel en France de 1815-1833, (University of Paris (Nanterre), 1972), p. 70. Other points of difference between the Lasallian and the Lancastrian systems will be considered in Chapter Five.

30. Claude Wanner, Claude Fleury: Educational Historiographer and Thinker, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), p. 45.

31. DeViguerie, p. 314.

32. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, "St.LaSalle and Popular Education," Lasallian Digest 1 (Summer 1959): 8.

33. Poutet, Les origines 2:159.

34. Anselme, p. 269.

35. Crescentius Richard, "French Language and St. LaSalle," Lasallian Digest 5 (Winter 1963): 63.

36. Poutet, Les origines 1:28.

37. Cahiers lasalliens 25:93-94.

38. Fitzpatrick, Patron, p. 340. Davis, p. 76.

39. Blain, Life vol. 2 (translated by R. Arnandez).

40. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 86.

41. Davis, p. 74. Poutet, Les origines 2:159. Sauvage, Announcing, p. 86.

42. Cahiers lasalliens 10: 112.

43. Blain, Life, 1:375-376.

44. Poutet, Les origines 1:34. Wanner, p. 112. Davis, p. 79.

45. H.C. Barnard, Little Schools of Port Royal, (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 110-111.

46. Crescentius Richard, p. 62.

47. Barnard, p. 160.

48. Ibid., p. 150.

49. Chartier, p. 128.

50. Fitzpatrick, Patron, p. 220.

51. Davis, pp. 72-73.

52. DeViguerie, p. 144.

53. Chartier, p. 126.

54. Poutet, Les origines 2:281.

55. Crescentius Richard, p. 62.

56. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

57. Davis, pp. 13, 23.

58. Poutet, Les origines 2:285.

59. Davis, p. 15.

60. Ibid., p. 48.

61. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 44.

62. DeViguerie, p. 45.

63. Ibid., p. 147.

64. Fontainerie, pp. 71-78.

65. Michel Claeyssens, "L'enseignement de la lecture au 18e siècle," in The Making of Frenchmen: Current Directions in the History of Education in France (1679-1979) edited by Donald Baker and Patrick Harrigan, (Waterloo, Ontario: Historical Reflections Press, 1980): 68.

66. Ibid., p. 67.

67. Ibid., p. 69.

68. Anselme, p. 269.

69. Allain, p. 168.

70. Poutet, Les origines 1:42.

71. DeViguerie, p. 144.

72. Ibid., p. 283.

73. Anselme, p. 324. Of course there were other readers. Most of them, however, were family books, especially The Psalter, which children brought from home to school.

74. Chartier, pp. 90, 106-107.

75. Maximin, p. 146.

76. Fitzpatrick, Patron, pp. 246, 288. Battersby, Life, p. 180.

77. Augustine Raymond, "St. LaSalle and Modern Catechetics," Lasallian Digest 1 (Fall-Winter 1960): 28-41. It is in this article that Raymond says that each section of The Conduct is so thorough that it can be considered as a student textbook.

78. Poutet, Les origines 1:405.

79. Fontainerie, pp. 99, 103. Chartier, p. 134.

80. Slates were not unknown during the seventeenth century but there never was a question in The Conduct of having a portable slate on which the student would write his own figures. DeViguerie, p. 152.

81. Fontainerie, p. 109.

82. Homework was given in the Christian school, but it was rare and limited to the advanced students to learn catechism, to correct mistakes in writing and to make up problems in arithmetic. Anselme, p. 77.

83. Chartier, p. 135.

84. Poutet, Les origines 1:532.

85. Chartier, p. 135.

86. Fontainerie, pp. 106-107.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., p. 108.

89. Wanner, p. 25.

90. Ibid., pp. 168, 226.

91. Ibid., p. 71.

92. Rigault, Histoire 1:588.

93. Wanner, pp. 155, 255.

94. Ibid., pp. 74, 151.

95. Ibid., p. 156.

96. Ibid., p. 236.

97. Ibid., p. 193.

98. Ibid., p. 217.

99. Poutet, Les origines 2:277.

100. Campos, Meditations, III, 2.

101. Poutet, Les origines 2:276.

102. Blain, Life, pp. 1-115.

103. Campos, Meditations, p. 93.

104. Sauvage, Catéchèse, p. 599. Chartier, p. 6.

105. "La finalité de l'Institut selon Saint DeLaSalle," Les Bulletins 47 (April 1966): 76-78.

106. Poutet, Les origines 2:274.

107. Allain, p. 165.

108. Fontainerie, pp. 127-135 passim.

109. Meditation for Second Sunday after Easter. The meditation for Good Shepherd Sunday is a remarkable effort to attenuate the weaknesses of the simultaneous method by inducing the teacher to give as much individual attention to his pupils as possible. Battersby, Meditations, p. 11.

110. Fontainerie, pp. 131-132. Alphonse, A l'école, pp. 352-353.

111. Ibid., 134.

112. Poutet, Les origines 1:388.

113. Azarias, p. 15.

114. Chartier, p. 9.

115. DeViguerie, p. 48.

116. Chartier, p. 7. The language of the missionary was a frequent subject of complaint in the rural parishes because he spoke in French and not in patois.

117. Poutet, Les origines 1:351.

118. DeViguerie, p. 44.

119. Sauvage, Announcing, p. 81, footnote 169.

120. Fontainerie, p. 136.

121. Poutet, Les origines 2:271.

122. Rigault, Histoire 1:555.

123. Br. August Raymond, "A Neglected Masterpiece," LaSallian Digest 2 (Summer 1960): 12.

124. Cahiers lasalliens 23:432-435.

125. Sauvage, Announcing, p. 76, footnotes 133-139.

126. Rigault, Histoire 1:555. Son oeuvre, p. 70.

127. Raymond Augustine, "Neglected Masterpiece," p. 17.

128. Ibid., p. 20. The scholarly research was done by Brother Dante and was published in Rivista Lasalliana.

129. Chartier, p. 123.

130. The Rule, Chapter One.

131. Br. Cornelius Luke, "On A Suitable Education," Lasallian Digest 3 (Winter 1960): 37.

132. Campos, Meditations, p. 194.

133. Quoted by Fredien Charles in "DeLaSalle's Pedagogy and Modern Methods," LaSalle Catechist 15 (Summer 1949): 128.

134. Fontainerie, p. 111.

135. The Rule of 1705.

136. Cahiers lasalliens 18:4.

137. Ibid., p. 9.

138. Rigault, Histoire 1:52.

138. Pungier, p. 104.

139. Fontainerie, p. 123.

141. Sauvage, Catéchèse, p. 699.

142. Fontainerie, p. 123.

143. Br. Philip, Educational Essays, p. 37, quoting Brother Leo.

144. Hamilton, p. 293.

145. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 90.

146. Fitzpatrick, Patron, p. 280.

147. Chartier, p. 145.

148. Rigault, Histoire 1:55.

149. "Les recueils de cantiques de St. DeLaSalle," Les Bulletins 33 (April 1952): 104.

150. Blain, Life 1:20. Maximin, p. 90.

151. "Les recueils de cantiques de St. DeLaSalle," p. 102.

152. Ibid., p. 108.

153. Wanner, p. 125.

154. DeViguerie, p. 253.

155. Salm, Beginnings, p. 101.

156. Albert Valentin, Règles de bienséance et de la civilité chrétienne, édition critique, (Paris: Ligel, 1955), p. 57.

157. Battersby, Life, p. 148. The following passage from Christian Politeness is clear evidence that DeLaSalle was speaking to the poor about good behavior "about placing their clothes on a chair when undressing for bed. However, one is able to put them on the bed in winter if one has nothing else to cover oneself; but one should take care to turn the clothes inside out so as not to soil them."

158. Augustine Raymond, "Introduction to a Bestseller," Lasallian Digest 1 (Fall 1959): 87.

159. Br. Agathon, Christian Politeness 1783 edition. Preface.

160. Chartier, p. 138.

161. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 51.

162. Chartier, p. 143.

163. DeViguerie, p. 261.

164. When the publisher of the 1713 edition of Christian Politeness dedicated it to the superintendent of schools of Paris, a man who continued his predecessor's poor attitude against DeLaSalle, some questioned DeLaSalle's authorship.

165. Cahiers lasalliens 19 contains the 1703 edition with the original "gothic" script and regular type on opposite pages.

166. Valentin, p. 155.

167. Augustine Raymond, "Introduction to a Bestseller," p. 96.

168. Ibid., p. 88. Valentin, pp. 115-130.

169. Valentin, pp. 485, 488.

170. Fontainerie, p. 81.

171. Valentin, pp. 81, 93. Rigault, Histoire 1:561.

172. Maximin, p. 99.

173. Christian Politeness was also published in its earliest editions for girls.

174. Valentin, pp. 89, 190.

175. Ibid., pp. 53, 60. Battersby, Life, p. 148.

176. Raymond Augustine, "Neglected Masterpiece," p. 11.

177. Albert Valentin, "Un libre peu connu," Les Bulletins 29 (April 1948): 171-179.

Notes to Chapter V

1. For development of the view of DeLaSalle's work as corrective education see the monograph by Othmar Wurth, "La pédagogie de J.B. DeLaSalle," Lasallianum 15 (November 1972): 1-145.

2. Campos, Meditations, p. 50.

3. Francis Emery, "St. LaSalle's Educational Principles," LaSallian Digest 2 (Summer 1960): 34-43.

4. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing, pp. 65-67.

5. Fontainerie, p. 42.

6. Maximin, p. 126.

7. Cahiers lasalliens 24:22, 100.

8. Fontainerie, p. 147

9. Cahiers lasalliens 24:167, 188.

10. Campos, Meditations, p. 95.

11. Gilmartin, p. 78.

12. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing, p. 72.

13. Chartier, p. 120. The jalousie was a louvered opening through which the teacher could see but not be seen.

14. DeViguerie, p. 237.

15. Poutet, Les origines 2:277.

16. Pungier, p. 105.

17. Maximin, pp. 125-126.

18. Campos, Meditations, p. 241. Meditation of feast of St. Marcel.

19. Battersby, Meditations, p. 241. Fontainerie, p. 177.

20. Sauvage and Campos, Announcing, p. 78.

21. Battersby, Meditations, p. 708.

22. DeViguerie, p. 235.

23. Poutet, Les origines 2:566.

24. Battersby, Life, p. 147.

25. Anselme, p. 128.

26. Tronchot, p. 72.

27. Anselme, p. 130.

28. Compayré, History of Pedagogy, p. 266.

29. Adolph Meyer, An Educational History of the Western World, (McGraw-Hill: New York, 1972), pp. 179-183.

30. Azarias, Essays, p. 278.

31. Anselme, p. 131.

32. Brother Edwin, "St. LaSalle and the Modern Teacher," LaSallian Digest 1 (Spring 1959): 5.

33. See the following. Thomas Davidson, A History of Education, (Scribner: New York, 1900), p. 188. Samual Parker, The History of Modern Elementary Education, (Illinois: 1912), p. 96. Elmer Wilds, The Foundations of Modern Education, (Holt, Rinehardt: New York, 1936), p. 243. Edgar Knight, Twenty Centuries of Education, (Ginn: Chicago, 1940), p. 177.

34. Anselme, pp. 132-144. Fontainerie, pp. 156-160.

35. Poutet, Les origines 2:128. Refer back to Chapter III for details of DeLaSalle's conflict with the writing masters.

36. Anselme, pp. 133-134.

37. Ibid., p. 135.

38. Pungier, p. 25. Alphonse, pp. 342-343. Francis Emery, p. 41.

39. Salm, Beginnings, p. 93.

40. Pungier, p. 28.

41. Cahiers lasalliens 24:256-257.

42. Anselme, pp. 139-140.

43. Ibid., pp. 141-142.

44. Ibid., p. 137.

45. Ibid., p. 139.

46. Ibid., p. 143.

47. Ibid., p. 144. The addresses on the record are in Reims.

48. Battersby, Life, p. 144. "Les punitions corporelles et St. Jean Baptiste DeLaSalle," Les Bulletins 30 (October 1949): 315-327.

49. DeViguerie, pp. 251-252. Brother Agatho, "The Social Influence of St. DeLaSalle," LaSalle Catechist 13 (Spring 1947): 24-34.

50. Rigault, Histoire 1:50.

51. Battersby, Life, p. 145. Foucault, pp. 140, 147.

52. Maximin, p. 138.

53. Anselme, p. 150. Maximin, p. 134. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 99.

54. Azarias, p. 232. Rigault, Son oeuvre, p. 48.

55. "Les punitions corporelles," Les Bulletin 30 (October 1949): 324. Battersby, Life, p. 42.

56. Cahiers lasalliens 25:42.

57. Anselme, p. 150.

58. Fontainerie, pp. 185-188.

59. Ibid., p. 184.

60. Pungier, pp. 73-74.

61. Rigault, Histoire 1:592. Wanner, p. 176.

62. Pungier, p. 101. Fontainerie, pp. 161-162.

63. Fontainerie, p. 162.

64. Battersby, Pioneer, p. 98. Fontainerie, p. 163.

65. Fontainerie, p. 164.

66. Ibid., pp. 164-165.

67. Ibid., p. 169.

68. Anselme, pp. 155-157, 172. Fontainerie, pp. 170-171.

69. Anselme, pp. 157-160. Fontainerie, pp. 172-175, 183.

70. Wurth, p. 46.

71. Cahiers lasalliens 13:60.

72. Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

73. Wurth, pp. 31, 37.

74. Cahiers lasalliens 24:150-166. Wurth, pp. 33-37.

75. Cahiers lasalliens 24:253.

76. Ibid., pp. 167, 182.

77. Wurth, p. 35. Cahiers lasalliens 24:117.

78. Cahiers lasalliens 24:253.

79. Ibid., pp. 152, 165. Cahiers lasalliens 25:17.

80. Cahiers lasalliens 24:187. Cahiers lasalliens 13:58-63.

81. Cahiers lasalliens 13:11-12.

82. Wurth, pp. 38-40.

83. Campos, Meditations, pp. 50, 82. The Rule of 1705.

84. Cahiers lasalliens 13:9. Cahiers lasalliens 24:136.

85. Cahiers lasalliens 24:186.

86. Cahiers lasalliens 12:115.

87. Wurth, p. 50.

88. Fontainerie, pp. 175-182. Anselme, pp. 157-169. Wurth, pp. 48-50.

89. Cahiers lasalliens 12:104. Wurth, p. 46.

90. Cahiers lasalliens 13:45, 52. Cahiers lasalliens 25:36.

91. "Les distributions de prix dans les écoles des frères avant 1792," Les Bulletins 4 (July 1910): 255-267.

92. Fontainerie, p. 160. Anselme, p. 146.

93. "Les distributions de prix dans les écoles des frères avant 1792," p. 257.

94. Poutet, Les origines 2:57.

95. Pungier, p. 106.

96. Fontainerie, pp. 195-202. Anselme, pp. 185-195.

97. Fontainerie, p. 199.

98. Cahiers lasalliens 24:188.

99. Anselme, pp. 188-189.

100. Cahiers lasalliens 24:187.

101. Fontainerie, pp. 199-200. Anselme, pp. 189-190.

102. Anselme, p. 196.

103. Fontainerie, p. 202.

104. Cahiers lasalliens 24:192.

105. Anselme, p. 198.

106. Fontainerie, p. 211. Chartier, p. 120.

107. Cahiers lasalliens 24:202. Fontainerie, p. 178. Pungier, p. 102.

108. Fontainerie, pp. 58, 211-222. Anselme, pp. 193-195, 207-228.

109. Chartier, p. 121.

110. Ibid.

111. Foucault, p. 179.

112. Anselme, p. 217.

113. Tronchot, p. 71. For information on Charles Demia and the Lyonnaise reform refer back to Chapters II and III.

114. Compayré, Demia, p. 95. Ravelet, p. 86.

115. Tronchot, p. 73.

116. Fontainerie, pp. 52, 68, 74, 110, 131, 183.

117. In spite of his strong statement of comparison between DeLaSalle and Lancaster, the author does admit that DeLaSalle's impact on education is seldom noted in British histories of education and that no one has yet investigated the spread of DeLaSalle's ideas into Britain. Hamilton, p. 285.

118. Ibid., p. 284.

119. Gontard, p. 295.

120. Ibid., p. 285.

121. Ibid., p. 329.

122. Ibid., p. 446. Gontard describes a water color painting found in 1830 depicting a cringing Brother being beaten with sticks by three students. The caption reads: Vive le Roi Louis Phillipe et l'école mutuelle. A bas les ignorantins! (Long life King Louis Philippe and the mutual school. Down with the Brothers!)

123. Gilmartin, p. 12. Tronchot, p. 73.

124. One carnival game for children consisted in the feat of catching a chicken running in an open field. Whoever caught the chicken was crowned "king" for the coming year.

125. Poutet, Les origines 2:120.

126. Fontainerie, p. 209.

127. Ibid., p. 211.

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